VIOLENCE AND RELATIONS OF POWER IN ANDEAN-BASED PERUVIAN NARRATIVE SINCE 1980

BY

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Abstract of the Dissertation Presented to the Graduate School of the University of Florida in Partial Fulfillment of the Requirements for the Degree of Doctor of Philosophy

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The dissertation analyzes violence and relations of power in Andean-based Peruvian narrative since 1980 from literary, sociological and historical perspectives. A constant presence in Peruvian literature since 1848, indigenista narrative has been and continues to be an integral part of the debate about the Indian. The dissertation examines short stories and novels by eighteen writers dealing with the period after 1980, the year when Peru returned to civilian rule and the Sendero Luminoso guerrilla movement began its armed struggle. The focus is on the narrative interpretation of the Indian and the guerrilla war during this period.

Chapters 1 and 2 examine critical theories and debates about indigenista narrative and its development. Indigenista narrative is part of the larger debate about the

role of the Indian in Peru. Many critical studies of indigenista narrative mistakenly focus on subjective interpretations of the authenticity of a text's description of the indigenous world. They fail to consider that both literary and political indigenismo are exterior, not interior, visions of the Indian. In addition, these critics reveal their own political ideologies in attacking or praising certain particular writers. It is more fruitful to analyze indigenista narrative as a reflection and an influence in the exterior debate about the Indian. With roots in the chronicles of the conquest, indigenista narrative has been produced continuously since 1848.

Chapter 3 studies two works that take place in the 1960s and 1970s and interprets them in light of the revolutionary potential of the Indian. Chapters 4 and 5 examine six novels and forty-one short stories published since 1986 by sixteen writers. The focus is on the narrative treatment of violence and relations of power in relation to the indigenous peoples and the guerrilla war.

CHAPTER 1
INTRODUCTION

A constant presence in Peruvian narrative since 1848, *indigenista* narrative is an important source for understanding changing ideas about the Indians and their world. In spite of criticisms of *indigenismo*, pronouncements of its death, and literary critics ignoring it, many writers continue to write *indigenista* narrative of high quality and to address important issues in contemporary Peru. Marking a new era after twelve years of military rule, in 1980 the country returns to civilian rule and the *Sendero Luminoso* guerrilla movement begins its armed struggle. Through the analysis of novels and short stories by eighteen writers, the dissertation examines the state of contemporary indigenista narrative, its major preoccupations, and what the works say about contemporary Peru.

The Indian, Indigenista Narrative, and Criticisms

Indians, the "Indian problem," and *indigenismo* are the result of the conquest of the Americas. Guillermo Bonfil Batalla asserts that the conquest grouped the autochthonous peoples under the label of Indians, who were seen as

different and inferior. The colonizers justified their domination as a magnanimous effort to civilize the Indians (Utopía y revolución 19). Indigenistas are usually mestizos or whites who, in an environment primarily exterior to the indigenous world, formulate differing ideas of the Indians and their role in the country. Henri Favre defines indigenismo as the following:

> Llamamos "indigenismo" una corriente de pensamiento y de ideas que se organizan y desarrollan alrededor de la imagen del indio. Se presenta como una interrogación de la indianidad por parte de los no indios en función de finalidades propias de estos últimos. (qtd. in Barre 29-30)

By definition indigenista narrative is an exterior perspective of the indigenous world. José Carlos Mariátegui argues that critics commit a great injustice if they attack indigenista narrative for not describing the indigenous world from within. It is a literature written by mestizos. Hence, it is indigenista, not indígena (306). Antonio Cornejo Polar contends that Mariátegui's comments are crucial in doing away with the idea of indigenista narrative as an interior expression of the Andean world and establishing the base for a more coherent interpretation of it ("El indigenismo y las literaturas heterogéneas" 17). Unfortunately, many critics have not heeded Mariátegui's clarification that indigenismo is an exterior perspective and continue to judge works based on their own subjective conceptions of the indigenous world.

Efraín Kristal argues that judging indigenista narrative on the basis of subjective opinions of the authentic description of the indigenous world is not productive. Critics choose writers who describe their own conception of the Indian and manipulate the genre to show how other works lead up to a more complete vision of the Indian (The Andes 8). What occurs is a nearly endless succession of competing interpretations of the most correct representation of the indigenous world. Kristal argues that many critical works are "fictional and misleading," because they choose a writer based on a "particular political (or anthropological) position," with the result of "taking it out of the context within which it is relevant, namely a political or an anthropological discussion" (8). Instead of contesting the authenticity of the description of the Indian, he proposes that a more fruitful approach is to analyze the relationship of indigenista narrative with the political debate about the Indian (xiii). Therefore, understood as an exterior perspective, indigenista narrative reflects and influences debates about the Indian.

Many criticisms of the formal structures of indigenista narrative are related to the process of the relegation of indigenista and regional narrative to a subordinate position in relation to the boom. During the struggle, many associated with the boom contended that indigenista narrative was defective and impure (Cornejo Polar,

Literatura y sociedad 67-68). Pierre Bourdieu argues that one of the struggles in the field of cultural production is to gain the power to define what a writer is and to exclude others from the dominant definition ("The Field of Cultural Production" 323). He further argues that the meaning of a work changes with each change in the field (313). Within these bounds, much of the criticism of indigenista narrative since the 1960s can be understood as the struggle to supplant the dominance of regional narrative within the field of cultural production or as a consequence of regional narrative's loss of a dominant position.

However, those affiliated with the boom, armed with European and North American theories of the novel, did not consider the unique requirements of indigenista narrative. Mariátegui points out that much of Peruvian literature can not be studied with methodologies appropriate for other national literatures formed without a conquest (210). Many critics of indigenista narrative fail to consider that it must remain faithful to its indigenous referent and to western formal structures. Antonio Cornejo Polar says that the result is heterogeneous literature, where

> se trata de literaturas en las que uno o más de sus elementos constitutivos corresponden a un sistema socio-cultural que no es el que preside la composición de los otros elementos puestos en acción en un proceso concreto de producción literaria. (Literatura y sociedad 60)

Due to this, it is defective or is a creative response to the demands of describing the indigenous world with western formal structures.

The Development of Indigenista Narrative

Indigenista narrative is part of a constant preoccupation with the role of the Indian. Much more than a literary school, it has roots in the chronicles of the conquest and has been a constant in Peruvian literature (Cornejo Polar, Literatura y sociedad 36-37). The chronicles of the conquest treat many themes that become prominent in indigenista narrative. Since Narciso Aréstegui's El Padre Horán (1848), the production of indigenista narrative has been a continuous process in Peru. It is influenced by and influences the political debate about the Indians and their conception.

The chronicles of the conquest are the first written works to address the role of the Indian in Peru. Particularly germane to the study of the roots of indigenista narrative are the chronicles of the Inca Garcilaso de la Vega, Titu Kusi Yupanqui, and Felipe Guamán Poma de Ayala. Each criticizes various aspects of the conquest, principally the brutal subjugation and destruction of the native populations. The works fall under Antonio Cornejo Polar's definition of heterogeneous literature, because, like indigenista narrative, they reflect European

and indigenous influences and describe the indigenous world for a non indigenous audience. They contrast an idyllic past with the chaos of the present to criticize the abuses of the conquest. The concept of the trinity of the abusers of the Indian is not a creation of Manuel González Prada, but rather Felipe Guamán Poma (Guamán Poma, La nueva crónica 13). While the chronicles are not indigenista narrative, they do contain many of the formal and thematic elements later found in indigenista narrative.[1]

Indigenista narrative in the nineteenth century centers on the Indian as an agricultural worker or as a key in the industrialization of Peru. According to Efraín Kristal, three of the dominant factions in Peru in the nineteenth century are liberals, civilistas, and the industrial elite. Each group has members who write narrative reflecting its political ideology and, in turn, influence the political debate about the Indian. The liberals, primarily the rural oligarchy, want to do away with some abuses of the Indians to have more productive agricultural workers. Narciso Aréstegui's El padre Horán (1848) is an expression of liberal thought. Both the civilistas and the industrial elite want to industrialize Peru, although through different

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[1] For a comparison of Felipe Guamán Poma de Ayala and José María Arguedas, see Roger Zapata, Guamán Poma, indigenismo y estética de la dependencia en la cultura peruana, Minneapolis, MN: Institute for the Study of Ideologies and Literatures, 1989.

means. The key is that the Indian is central to industrialization. Writers such as Ladislao Graña, Juana Manuela Gorriti, Juan Vicente Camacho, and Ricardo Palma have works that reflect civilista thought. Manuel González Prada, after the War of the Pacific (1879-83) and before his conversion to anarchism, is the main spokesperson for the industrial elite. Clorinda Matto de Turner's trilogy of novels, including Aves sin nido (1889), reflects the ideology of the industrial elite (Kristal, The Andes 37-154).

In the first part of the twentieth century, especially from the 1920s to the 1940s, indigenista narrative is the dominant literary form in Peru. Ciro Alegría and José María Arguedas are two of the principal indigenista writers of that era. Efraín Kristal argues that Alegría's works during this period reflect the influence of the ideology of the APRA (Alianza Popular Revolucionaria Americana), primarily in the valuing of the indigenous community ("Del indigenismo" 67-68). In "No soy un aculturado..." (1968) José María Arguedas credits the influence of Mariátegui, Lenin, and socialism for giving direction to his work (El zorro de arriba y el zorro de abajo 14).

Contemporary Indigenismo, or Neoindigenismo

In the 1950s and 1960s indigenista narrative cedes its dominant position in the cultural field to an urban

narrative heavily influenced by the boom. Antonio Cornejo Polar and Luis Fernando Vidal argue that since the 1950s there are two general currents in Peruvian narrative. The first, represented by José María Arguedas, focusses on the disintegration of the old (oligarchic) social order, and the redefinition of the dominated sectors in the sierra. The second current, represented by Mario Vargas Llosa, deals with the construction of a new order (Nuevo cuento peruano 15-18). Efraín Kristal notes that one of the principal historical reasons for the change in focus in Peruvian literature is the massive migration from the Andes to the cities. The migration is the result of the bankruptcy of the traditional agricultural economy based in the latifundios, which has been one of the major subjects treated in indigenista narrative ("Del indigenismo" 57). With the eclipse of the landed oligarchy, a new dominant group, composed of three groups, gains power. Kristal says that some works of three of Peru's more well-known writers are associated with the dominant group. Julio Ramón Ribeyro describes the vision of the oligarchy in decline, Mario Vargas Llosa (in his first novels) the new middle classes, and Alfredo Bryce Echenique a new dominant sector allied with international commerce that benefits from exports, imports, and, at times, industrialization (69). Kristal concludes that, as a presence in urban narrative and in indigenismo, the Indian continues to have a major impact on

Peruvian narrative and is the key to understanding the recent transformations in Peru (69-74).

One of the most rigorous critics of indigenista narrative, Tomás G. Escajadillo says that neoindigenismo begins in the 1950s and continues to the present. Essentially, neoindigenista writers use more contemporary narrative techniques and the narrative focus becomes broader due to social, political, and economic changes in the sierra ("La narrativa indigenista" 19-32). Early neoindigenista writers include Eleodoro Vargas Vicuña, Carlos Eduardo Zavaleta, and José María Arguedas's later works, such as Los ríos profundos (1958) and "La agonía de Rasu-Ñiti" (1962) (272). In La narrativa indigenista he analyzes neoindigenista writers published after 1971.[2]

Obstacles Facing Contemporary Neoindigenista Writers

In spite of efforts to establish a strong domestic publishing industry in the late 1950s and early 1960s, writers with the most national and international success have published outside of the country. Manuel Scorza's efforts to promote the publishing industry and to expand the literary audience in Peru and other Spanish-speaking countries in the late 1950s and early 1960s was a stunning, but ephemeral success. According to Antonio Cornejo Polar,

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[2] He also mentions these groups in "Tres narradores neo-indigenistas," and "Los ilegítimos en la literatura neo-indigenista."

the international response to Mario Vargas Llosa's La ciudad y los perros (1964) had two results. The first was to largely end efforts to develop national literature through a domestic editorial system. The second was to show the effectiveness of the international route that Vargas Llosa followed ("Sobre el 'neoindigenismo'" 551-52). Cornejo Polar and Vidal say that, after Vargas Llosa and Scorza, the only other writer to be completely successful in following the international route is Alfredo Bryce Echenique. They also point out that in 1982 three books of short stories were published in Peru. In the same year almost two thousand people participated in the short story contest sponsored by the newsweekly, Caretas. Of the seventeen finalists, only two or three had published in the genre before. As judges for literary contests, they note that the number of published works does not reflect the quantity of indigenista narrative written. In addition to the weak publishing industry, writers face a small reading public and a developing economy (Nuevo cuento peruano 11-13).

According to Carlos Calderón Fajardo, there are two distinct groups of young writers divided along class lines. He argues that one group, inspired by the models of Mario Vargas Llosa, Julio Ramón Ribeyro, and Alfredo Bryce Echenique, tends to avoid writing about the realities of contemporary Peru. The other group, many of popular extraction, writes about themes such as subversion,

violence, the shanty towns, Andean influences in the city, and other social themes. He contends that both groups are almost mutually exclusive and even have their own different critical communities ("El 'boom' subterráneo de la narrativa peruana" 105-6).

The Peruvian and international critical communities ignore most neoindigenista writers after Arguedas. Even a writer of the stature of Manuel Scorza has had to face being shunned by many in the critical community. Tomás G. Escajadillo criticizes the Peruvian critical community's almost complete silence about Scorza's works ("Scorza antes de la última batalla"). Friedhelm Schmidt points out that most of the items in his bibliography of Scorza are minor references, reviews and interviews. He contends that this is evidence of the international critical community's lack of a systematic preoccupation about Scorza's works ("Bibliografía de y sobre Manuel Scorza" 273). Critical reflection about other indigenista writers publishing since 1980 is sparse at best. Tomás G. Escajadillo's articles and recent book are a pleasant exception. While there are newspaper and journal articles, they have a limited circulation within Peru.

Themes in Contemporary Indigenista Narrative

While the traditional trinity of exploiters of the Indian (landowners, priests, and government authorities)

still appears in the narrative, the landowner and the system of gamonalismo are less of a focus. The criticism falls more on society and the system as a whole than the traditional socioeconomic system based on landowners.[3] This reflects the effects of the agrarian reforms of the 1960s (although incomplete) and the decline of the landed oligarchy. In the works analyzed landowners and priests are less prominent, while the government and society are usually indifferent or hostile to the needs of the campesino.

Land and agriculture continue to be the predominant economic themes. In many texts there are direct and veiled criticisms of landowners that amassed vast tracts of land and the incomplete agrarian reforms of the 1960s. The legacy of these two factors results in many campesinos being left with poor and inadequate land. Government programs designed to help the campesino are largely ineffective and, at times, are counter to their needs. A consequence of the weak agricultural economy is the continued migration to urban areas in the sierra and the coast.

Three kinds of teachers in the narrative reflect changes in society. Tomás G. Escajadillo mentions two types of characters. The first is teachers who aid the established order. The second is teachers associated with the SUTEP, the principal teachers' union (Arroyo 96). The

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[3] For example, see Tomás G. Escajadillo, "Hildebrando Pérez Huarancca," and José M. Iztueta, "En torno a Los ilegítimos."

teachers affiliated with the SUTEP work to help communities progress, but they and the communities are often victims of a system that fears changes in the status quo and threats to its power. Teachers who join the guerrillas make up the third category.

The guerrilla war becomes a prominent theme in works published in 1986 and after. While the military and police appear in previous *indigenista* narrative, usually repressing land seizures by *campesinos*, the task of confronting the guerrilla movement is a theme unique to the present.[4] Most works condemn the violence by the repressive forces and the guerrillas, but others are positive toward one group or the other. Other actors that appear in some works are the paramilitary *rondas campesinas*.

The Choice of Works

The dissertation is purposely incomplete for many reasons. It is nearly impossible to include every *indigenista* work and every short story or novel that discusses the guerrilla war. Except for the third chapter, the emphasis is on works published since 1980 that deal with contemporary violence and relations of power in the Peruvian sierra. Due to this, many excellent writers and works that primarily focus on the revalorization of the Indian are

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[4] While there are narrative works about the guerrillas in 1965, *Sendero Luminoso* has had much more of an impact on the country.

excluded. Works that treat the guerrilla war outside of the sierra region are also excluded. The goal of the dissertation is to help fill in a gap of critical studies of contemporary narrative fiction visions of the sierra since the beginning of the Sendero Luminoso's armed struggle in 1980.

The focus of the dissertation is on the relationship of the texts with the larger context of social, political, and economic developments in Peru since 1980. Chapter 2 examines theoretical questions about indigenista narrative and summarizes its development. Chapter 3 analyzes two works from 1979 and 1980, both related to revolution. The fourth and fifth chapters analyze novels and short stories, respectively, about the period after 1980.

CHAPTER 2
REVIEW OF LITERATURE

Indians, the "Indian problem," and indigenismo are the result of the conquest of the Americas. According to Guillermo Bonfil Batalla, the term Indian refers to the autochthonous colonized sector of society and to a colonial relationship. He argues that a colonial situation requires a global definition of the colonized peoples as different and inferior. In this way the colonizers justify their privileged position and rationalize the conquest as a magnanimous effort to civilize the colonized peoples (19). The subjugation of the Peruvian Indians has been a difficult task. Unlike the relatively quick conquest in Mexico, in Peru it took the Spanish almost forty years to defeat the NeoInca empire. Since the conquest, there have been many uprisings. With the beginning of the armed struggle of Sendero Luminoso in 1980, campesinos become the principal participants as victims, guerrillas, or members of the repressive forces.

The role of the Indian is a question that has been a major component of Peruvian political and literary discourse since the conquest. Most of the discussions are classified as indigenismo, which generally has two sides: the

revalorization of the indigenous peoples and social protest. The focus of this dissertation and this chapter is on the social protest tradition of indigenismo. This chapter focusses on definitions and overviews of political indigenismo and indigenista narrative fiction, extraliterary factors and the narrative, and a summary of the development of indigenista narrative and related historical developments since the conquest.

Political Indigenismo

While political indigenismo attempts to help the Indians, it is not an entirely altruistic endeavor. Henri Favre defines indigenismo as the following:

> Llamamos "indigenismo" una corriente de pensamiento y de ideas que se organizan y desarrollan alrededor de la imagen del indio. Se presenta como una interrogación de la indianidad por parte de los no indios en función de finalidades propias de estos últimos. (qtd. in Barre 29-30)

The key is that Indians have little to do with indigenista theories or their implementation. They are merely the beneficiaries (or victims) of policies created by others on their behalf. This is not to say that indigenistas are insincere or do not want to help the Indians, but the results of their ideologies and policies are often of most benefit to the indigenistas.

Marie-Chantal Barre argues that the principal goal of government indigenista policies is to integrate the Indian

into the dominant society, which results in the disintegration of the communal system. Since the conquest the government expects the indigenous populations to assimilate into an alien, all-encompassing system that includes a new system of production, a new religion, and a new culture. Marxists support their integration into the modern capitalist sector of society, because they believe that the proletarianization of the Indians is a necessary step toward socialism. In the process of incorporating the indigenous populations into the dominant society, the communal system begins to disintegrate. Although laws recognize the right of existence of indigenous communities, individualistic agrarian reforms favor the development of individual property and the expansion of capitalism. While integrationist policies have positive benefits, they also lead to the disintegration of communities (85-91). In conclusion, the conquest drastically altered the indigenous world and left a legacy of policies designed by non Indians to incorporate them into alien structures. Indigenista policies have the contradictory effects of aiding the indigenous peoples and also destroying or greatly transforming their traditional way of life.

Definitions of Indigenista Narrative

While there are many definitions of indigenista narrative, critics have traditionally divided indigenista

narrative into two periods. In La novela indianista en Hispanoamérica (1934), Concha Meléndez argues that narrative about the Indian should be called indianista. One form is romantic and the other is the social vindication of the Indian (Rosemburg 54). In spite of her divisions, the critical community usually makes a distinction between indianismo and indigenismo. For example, Luis Alberto Sánchez states that indianismo emphasizes exotic and emotional aspects of the Indian, and indigenismo focusses on social demands based on economic and agrarian problems (Echevarría 289-90). The only change is a different name, but the distinctions remain the same.

Tomás G. Escajadillo, one of the more rigorous critics of indigenista narrative, proposes three categories: indianismo, orthodox indigenismo, and neoindigenismo ("La narrativa indigenista" 271-72). He argues that there are two focusses of the indigenous theme in indianismo. The modernist version includes Abraham Valdelomar's Los hijos del sol (1921) and Ventura García Calderón's short stories that have Andean themes. Romantic-realist-idealist indianismo consists of works like Narciso Aréstegui's El Padre Horán (1848) and Clorinda Matto de Turner's Aves sin nido (1889). He considers Matto de Turner's novel a precursor or antecedent of indigenismo (6).

Escajadillo argues that orthodox indigenismo begins with Enrique López Albújar's Cuentos andinos (1920) and

culminates, but does not end, with Ciro Alegría's El mundo es ancho y ajeno (1941) and José María Arguedas's Yawar fiesta (1941) (272). His three conditions for this period are: 1) the vindication of the Indian, 2) the creation of flesh and blood characters, overcoming the limitations of the romantic idealization of Indians, and 3) sufficient proximity in relation to the Indian and the indigenous world (271).

Escajadillo says that neoindigenismo begins in the 1950s and continues to the present. Early neoindigenista writers include Eleodoro Vargas Vicuña, Carlos Eduardo Zavaleta, and José María Arguedas's later works, such as Los ríos profundos (1958) and "La agonía de Rasu-Ñiti" (1962) (272). In an interview with Carlos Arroyo, he says that in a forthcoming book (La narrativa indigenista) he analyzes neoindigenista writers published after 1971. He classifies them in three groups according to their age. In the first group are Manuel Scorza, Carlos Eduardo Zavaleta, Edgardo Rivera Martínez, and Marcos Yauri Montero. The second group consists of Félix Huamán Cabrera, Víctor Zavala Cataño, Oscar Colchado Lucio, and Hildebrando Pérez Huarancca. He includes some twenty younger writers in an appendix, but in the interview he only mentions Julián Pérez (95-96). Principal characteristics of neoindigenismo are: 1) the use of magical realism or lo real maravilloso, 2) the intensification of lyricism, 3) the use of newer, more

innovative narrative techniques, and 4) the broadening of the area represented in the narrative in consonance with the development of the indigenous problematic ("La narrativa indigenista" 19-32).

Escajadillo contends that indigenismo is more than a simple literary movement. He cites José Carlos Mariátegui's argument that indigenismo arose as an effort to solve the "Indian problem." According to some, there has been no solution, and some aspects of the problems facing the indigenous peoples have worsened ("Tres narradores neo-indigenistas" 7). Escajadillo argues that the number of contemporary young neoindigenista writers is evidence that indigenismo is not dead: "Todo esto demuestra que la modernidad comete una de las más grandes estupideces cuando decreta la muerte del indigenismo y que la realidad desmiente lo que algún día dijeron Carlos Fuentes, Mario Vargas Llosa o José Donoso" (qtd. in Arroyo 96).

Antonio Cornejo Polar emphasizes the importance of perceiving indigenismo as a long, historical and literary process. He argues that romantic indigenismo is a better term than indianismo, because it is one period of a long tradition:

> Esta manera de entenderlo tiene la ventaja, entre otras, de evitar una periodización absolutizada, con etapas que en verdad es imposible distinguir con rigor; al revés, permite percibir el curso del indigenismo como una amplia y casi ininterrumpida secuencia, cuyo origen está en las crónicas como se ha visto, que se plasma diferencialmente de acuerdo a las variantes que la historia general de

> la literatura peruana puede detectar con relativa facilidad. En otras palabras: el indigenismo romántico es simplemente una etapa de un largo y accidentado proceso que recorre, y en cierto modo vertebra, el curso de la literatura peruana. De esta manera la oposición entre indianismo e indigenismo pierde importancia, sin desaparecer del todo por supuesto, para permitir una comprensión más cabal de la profundidad histórica del indigenismo. (Literatura y sociedad 36-37)

Whether a writer is influenced by the literary techniques of romanticism, realism, magical realism or some other ism, each generation has seen the need to write about the indigenous world. Following Antonio Cornejo Polar's argument, the dissertation focusses more on the indigenista tradition than trying to promote any specific critic's definition of a period of indigenista narrative.

Two Criticisms of Indigenista Narrative

One criticism concerns the formal structures of indigenista narrative, much of it coming from those allied with the boom. This criticism can be understood within the larger context of the struggle between individuals, groups, and institutions identified with the boom and those associated with regional and indigenista narrative. Pierre Bourdieu argues that part of the struggle within the field of cultural production is which group gains the power to define what a writer is ("The Field of Cultural Production" 323). Due to this, "The meaning of a work (artistic, literary, philosophical, etc.) changes automatically with each change in the field within which it is situated for the

spectator or reader" (313). Within these bounds, much of the criticism of indigenista narrative since the 1960s can be understood as the struggle to supplant the dominance of regional narrative within the field of cultural production or as a consequence of regional narrative's loss of a dominant position. Antonio Cornejo Polar notes that the insurgent group "puso especial énfasis en demostrar que la novela anterior, incluyendo la novela indigenista a veces en primera línea, era una 'novela primitiva' o una 'novela impura'" (Literatura y sociedad 67). An example of this is Mario Vargas Llosa's polemical statement in 1964: "El fracaso del indigenismo fue doble: como instrumento de reivindicación del indio, por su racismo al revés y su criterio histórico estrecho, y como movimiento literario por su mediocridad estética" ("José María Arguedas y el indio" 142). Cornejo Polar says in many of the criticisms "lo que se buscaba era frecuentemente no más que enfatizar la originalidad adánica de los nuevos narradores hispanoamericanos" (Literatura y sociedad 68). He adds that in many of the criticisms there is an awareness of indigenous elements in indigenista narrative, but that the critical interpretation is mistaken (68).

In analyzing the formal structures of indigenista narrative, it is crucial to consider the influence of the indigenous world. José Carlos Mariátegui argues that much of Peruvian literature can not be studied with methodologies

valid for other national literatures formed without a conquest (210). The indigenous influences force changes in the structure if the writer is to be faithful to the referent. Antonio Cornejo Polar says that the result is heterogeneous literature, where

> se trata de literaturas en las que uno o más de sus elementos constitutivos corresponden a un sistema socio-cultural que no es el que preside la composición de los otros elementos puestos en acción en un proceso concreto de producción literaria. (Literatura y sociedad 60)

The delicate balancing act of indigenista writers forces them to make compromises regarding the theories of the formal structures of the novel and the referent. The result can be considered to be an aesthetic failure or a creative response to the problem of representing the indigenous world with alien literary forms.

Another criticism of indigenista narrative is that there is a lack of an interior vision of the indigenous world. In many cases the critic considers José María Arguedas to be the paradigm for what indigenista narrative should be. In 1964, Mario Vargas Llosa maintained that most indigenista writers can not speak about the Indian with authenticity ("José María Arguedas y el indio" 141).[1]

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[1] Almost three decades later, Vargas Llosa is the subject of similar criticism. Ricardo González Vigil writes: "Por primera vez, en una novela de Vargas Llosa, varios diálogos no suenan como si hubieran sido pronunciados por seres vivos. En convergencia con este desajuste, Lituma en los Andes no penetra cabalmente en la mentalidad andina" ("Los Andes desde afuera" 14).

However, for him, José María Arguedas's knowledge of the Indian is much more profound, because "los conoce desde adentro y es lógico, pues, culturamente hablando, ha sido un indio" (142). Catherine Saintoul says that "Todos los textos [indigenistas]... llevan impresa de algún modo esta mirada exterior y deformante, exceptuando sólo a José María Arguedas" (51). Edgardo J. Pantigoso also speaks of the exterior perspective that distorts the indigenous world (62), and he goes so far as to say "Arguedas creció indio" (64). Even such an important literary critic of indigenismo as Tomás G. Escajadillo uses the same basic criteria of analysis. Two of the three conditions for orthodox indigenismo are flesh and blood characters and sufficient proximity in relation to the Indian and his world ("La narrativa indigenista" 271). These conditions are extremely subjective and subject to the particular preferences of the critic and the era. Many critics have used, and continue to use, this criteria as the basis for including or excluding a particular work or writer in indigenista narrative.

Efraín Kristal takes issue with classifying this literature by the veracity of the portrayal of the Indian. In The Andes Viewed from the City: Literary and Political Discourse on the Indian in Peru: 1848-1930, he attacks "the fallacy-ridden assumption" that indigenista narrative should be interpreted by the precision of the description of the indigenous world (XI). According to Kristal, this leads to

critics choosing writers who describe their own conception of the Indian. Based on the writer chosen, critics manipulate the genre to show how lesser works lead up to a more complete vision of the Indian (8). What occurs is a nearly endless succession of competing interpretations of the most correct representation of the indigenous world. For example, he cites an 1890 work on Clorinda Matto de Turner by Emilio Gutiérrez de Quintanilla. Gutiérrez argues that Aves sin nido is the first realist narrative about the Indian, and compares it with an earlier work by another writer, which he considers a failed attempt to describe the Indian (7-8). Later interpretations of Matto de Turner's novel are highly critical of her depiction of the indigenous world. Kristal argues that many critical works are "fictional and misleading," because they choose a writer based on a "particular political (or anthropological) position," with the result of "taking it out of the context within which it is relevant, namely a political or an anthropological discussion" (8). Instead of contesting the authenticity of the description of the Indian, Kristal proposes that a more fruitful approach is to analyze the relationship of indigenista narrative with the political debate about the Indian (xiii).

While Kristal has a convincing argument, his claim that José Carlos Mariátegui was one of the first to interpret indigenista narrative based on the accuracy of the portrayal

of the Indian is incorrect. The key to Kristal's argument is that Mariátegui makes a distinction between indígena and indigenista writers and argues that the former will come closer to expressing the realities of the indigenous world than the mestizo writers who make up the latter group (3-4). To bolster his argument he cites this portion of a paragraph from Mariátegui:

> La literatura indigenista no puede darnos una versión rigurosamente verista del indio. Tiene que idealizarlo y estilizarlo. Tampoco puede darnos su propia ánima. Es todavía una literatura de mestizos. Por eso se llama indigenista y no indígena. Una literatura indígena, si debe venir, vendrá a su tiempo. Cuando los propios indios estén en grado de producirla. (Mariátegui 306)

However, Kristal does not quote the first sentence of the paragraph, which warns against what he accuses Mariátegui of doing:

> Y la mayor injusticia en que podría incurrir un crítico sería cualquier apresurada condena de la literatura indigenista por su falta de autoctonismo integral o la presencia, más o menos acusada en sus obras, de elementos de artificio en la interpretación y en la expresión. (Mariátegui 306)

Cornejo Polar interprets the same paragraph differently. He believes that Mariátegui's assertion about indígena literature is debatable, because the production of indigenous literature has continued in a parallel course with literature in Spanish ("El indigenismo y las literaturas heterogéneas" 17). However, he argues that his definition of indigenista literature is crucial because "significa la cancelación de la utopía indigenista, como

presunta expresión interior del mundo andino, y establece las bases para fundar una nueva y más coherente interpretación del indigenismo" (17).

In conclusion, these two criticisms are based on impractical expectations of indigenista narrative. The groups associated with the boom were struggling to achieve a dominant position within the cultural field and indigenista and regionalist writers stood in their way. It is natural that they would find indigenista narrative to be defective in relation to their own texts. Even neoindigenista writers influenced by the narrative techniques of the boom, like José María Arguedas and Manuel Scorza, have suffered in the aftermath of relegating indigenista narrative to a subordinate position in the cultural field.[2] It is also erroneous to expect indigenista narrative to conform to theories of the novel developed within a European and North American context. Mariátegui and Cornejo Polar accurately point out that the production of indigenista narrative occurs in a different environment. To expect it to conform to alien literary forms and to ignore its referent is both unrealistic and naive. In the 1920s Mariátegui clearly stated that indigenista narrative is, by definition,

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[2] For example, Arguedas reacts to his polemics with some boom writers in El zorro de arriba y el zorro de abajo. For observations on the reception of Scorza, see Tomás G. Escajadillo's "Scorza antes de la última batalla," Revista de crítica literaria latinoamericana 7-8 (1978): 183-91, and "Scorza y el neoindigenismo. Nuevos planteamientos," Literaturas andinas 5-6 (1991): 5-22.

exterior. Furthermore, Kristal convincingly argues that conceptions of the Indian are inherently subjective and influenced by the political and literary debate about the Indian. Instead of each generation of critics denigrating previous narrative visions of the Indian, it is far more fruitful to analyze indigenista narrative within the context of the political debate on the Indian and other extraliterary factors.

Extraliterary Factors and Indigenismo

While extraliterary factors influence all literature, indigenismo is one of the clearer examples of this. In fact, many indigenista writers have suffered political persecution for their political activities and/or writing. In 1895 Clorinda Matto de Turner fled into exile in Argentina and the Catholic Church excommunicated her. Ciro Alegría and José María Arguedas spent time in jail in the 1930s, and Alegría and Manuel Scorza were exiled, the former in the 1930s and the latter in the 1950s.

One useful theoretical tool in analyzing this literature is Pierre Bourdieu's theory of the field of cultural production, which encompasses the examination of the social conditions of the production, distribution, and consumption of cultural goods. There are three levels of analysis. The first is the works, and the individual and class backgrounds of writers, their trajectories, and their

positions within the field. The second is the structure of the field, which includes writers and those involved in legitimizing and consecrating narrative works, such as publishers, critics, and the public. The third level is the analysis of the literary field within the context of relations of power in the nation (Johnson, The Field of Cultural Production 25).

One of the emphases in Pierre Bourdieu's theory is the struggle for a dominant position in the field of cultural production. For him, "the field of cultural production is the site of struggle in which what is at stake is the power to impose the dominant definition of the writer and therefore to delimit the population of those entitled to take part in the struggle to define the writer" ("The Field of Cultural Production" 323). This struggle has historical winners and losers, but there are always competitors waiting to substitute their own definitions for the dominant one. These competitors include many individuals and groups such as writers, publishers, literary critics, and the public. With every change in the field, a work's meaning can also change (313-17). In a larger context, this conflict relates to struggles within the country.

> The struggle in the field of cultural production over the imposition of the legitimate mode of cultural production is inseparable from the struggle within the dominant class (with the opposition between "artists" and "bourgeois") to impose the dominant principle of domination (i.e., ultimately, the definition of human accomplishment). (322)

Within the specific context of Peruvian indigenista narrative, it has been a major participant in describing and defining the indigenous populations of Peru and offering solutions to the "Indian problem."

One of the clearest examples of the relationship between the political debate on the Indian and the cultural field is the writings of José Carlos Mariátegui. He places indigenista literature within the context of a greater political, social, and economic struggle. In Siete ensayos de interpretación de la realidad peruana (1928), he writes, "El problema indígena, tan presente en la política, la economía y la sociología, no puede estar ausente de la literatura y del arte" (300). For him, indigenista literature plays an important role in the indigenista movement, and in the initial stages of a socialist revolution with the Indian as the base. He compares indigenista literature with the prerevolutionary Russian literature about the peasant in Czarist times, or mujikismo. In describing and condemning the feudal conditions of the Russian peasant, he argues that mujikismo played an important role in the initial stages of the Russian revolution (299-300). He believes that indigenista literature will play a similar role in Peru:

> Los "indigenistas" auténticos--que no deben ser confundidos con los que explotan temas indígenas por mero "exotismo"--colaboran, conscientemente o no, en una obra política y económica de reivindicación-- no de restauración ni de resurrección. (304)

Mariátegui set the foundation for understanding indigenista literature as much more than a simple literary movement.

Understood as much more than a simple literary school or movement, indigenista narrative both reflects prevailing political and anthropological debates about the Indian and helps to create different conceptions. The dissertation will attempt to integrate the analysis of the indigenista texts in the following chapters within the broader Peruvian social, economic, political, and cultural context. The focus is on the relations of power in the Andean region and the consequent violence as perceived by the various writers studied.

The Development of Indigenista Narrative

The Chronicles

Many of the conflicts in contemporary Peru have their origins in the conquest, which essentially divided Peruvian society into two often antagonistic groups. The chronicles reflect the conflicting visions of the conquest. Some justify the conquest, others are critical, and some reject its legitimacy. Critics such as Antonio Cornejo Polar argue that the chronicles also can be understood as the roots of indigenista narrative: "En muchos de estos textos está presente el sistema que madurará mucho más adelante, sobre todo en la gran novela indigenista" (Literatura y sociedad 33).

The mestizo chronicles of the colonial period are similar in form and content to indigenista narrative. According to Martín Lienhard, there are three types of chronicles. European chronicles, such as those of Hernán Cortés and Pedro Pizarro, have little influence from indigenous thought. The Popol Vuh and other indigenous chronicles come from oral traditions and have little or no influence from the transcriber. The mestizo chronicle does not refer to the writers' origins. Rather, Lienhard defines it by the narrative's heterogeneous nature. For example, mestizo chronicles can view history from a diachronic, synchronic, or cyclical perspective (105-6). Once armed resistance fails, resistance through writing begins. The Inca Garcilaso de la Vega, Titu Kusi Yupanqui, and Felipe Guamán Poma de Ayala criticize the conquest and the abuses committed as a result of it.

The son of a Spanish conquistador and an Inca princess, the Inca Garcilaso de la Vega was one of the first mestizos in Peru. In his Comentarios reales (1609 and 1617) there is a certain nostalgia toward the Inca Empire, and a strong, if subtle, criticism of the conquest. His description of the Inca empire is of a near-utopian society destroyed by the conquest. By describing the advances made by the Inca society, he criticizes the conquest and debunks the idea that the Indians are savages who need to be civilized.

Titu Kusi Yupanqui, the penultimate Inca, dictated his Relación de la conquista del Perú (1570) shortly before his execution. According to Rolena Adorno, his principal goals are to prove his claim as the rightful heir to the Inca empire, and to argue that the Incas are Christians and allies of the crown (From Oral to Written Expression 13). He contrasts the peaceful overtures of the Incas with the European strategies of deceit, betrayal and violence, which violate their own moral code as well as that of the Indians. In this way he attempts to prove his loyalty to the crown while justifying armed resistance (Chang-Rodríguez 20).

The strongest criticism is in Felipe Guamán Poma de Ayala's Nueva crónica y buen gobierno (1580-1615). His basic thesis is the following. There is no conquest because the Incas donate the Tawantinsuyo to the King of Spain and no further need for evangelization, because they are now Christians. The corrupt colonial government should be changed for an Inca-based state, governed by the Indians under the King's jurisdiction. In conclusion, he is against colonial government and for a native government, anti-Inca, but pro-Andean, and anti-clerical but pro-Catholic (Adorno, Guamán Poma 5).

The condemnation of the conquest in Guamán Poma's chronicle is similar to many of the criticisms found in indigenista narrative. Emphasizing the greed of the conquest, he uses fifty-two related words in only four pages

(Guamán Poma 10-13). He uses the same strategy as many indigenista writers in contrasting a nearly perfect society in the past with a critical view of the present. For example, in one instance he speaks directly to the reader and lists many vices that he has never seen among Indians (275). He then gives examples of the vices of the Spaniards: "todo lo malo lo tenéis y lo enseñáis a los pobres indios; como entre ustedes se roban, lo hacéis mucho más a los indios pobres, diciendo que habéis de restituir lo robado; pero no se ve que se hace dicha restitución" (275-76). Another connection with the indigenista tradition is Guamán Poma's naming the trinity of exploiters of the Indian. He writes that while the conquistadors were bad, "Aún peores que éstos, son sus descendientes, los españoles de esta época, como: los corregidores, Frailes y encomenderos quienes son tan codiciosos que se venden por el oro y plata y van directamente al infierno" (13). According to Escajadillo, in indigenista narrative the triangle consists of the large landowner, the priest, and civil, political, and military authority ("La narrativa indigenista" 100).

These three works contain many elements later found in indigenista narrative. They reflect the influence of the European and indigenous worlds, and, as is the case with indigenista narrative, describe the indigenous world for a non indigenous audience. They contrast an idyllic past with

a tumultuous present, and use the latter as a springboard for criticizing the conquest. The Inca Garcilaso is the most subtle in his criticism. Titu Kusi uses the present to justify his violent resistance to the representatives of the crown and Guamán Poma negates the legitimacy of the conquest. The trinity of exploiters of the indigenous peoples is not the creation of Manuel González Prada, but rather dates back at least to Guamán Poma. While the chronicles are not indigenista narrative, they contain many of the formal and thematic elements later found in indigenista narrative.

Nineteenth Century Indigenismo

Peruvian indigenista narrative began in the 1840s. In The Andes Viewed from the City: Literary and Political Discourse on the Indian in Peru: 1848-1930, Efraín Kristal analyzes the relationship between economic and political changes in Peru and changing literary expressions about the Indian. According to him, three of the dominant factions of Peruvian society in the nineteenth century were liberals, civilistas, and industrialists.

In general, the liberals reflected the ideology of the rural oligarchy. They wanted to make minimal changes in the status quo, such as ending abuses of the tribute system. In doing away with the worst abuses, the hope was to have a more productive agrarian worker (The Andes 37-42). According

to Kristal, Narciso Aréstegui's El Padre Horán (1848) reflects this liberal ideology. In the novel there are criticisms of the tribute system, abuses committed by a priest, and barriers to commerce. The depiction of the Indian is as an unjustly abused inferior being who would be content with poverty and hard work (44-52). A paternalistic government would protect the Indians and, in turn, use them to further commerce (54).

In the 1840s the exporting sector gained economic power through the export of guano and founded the civilista party in 1871. They criticized the inefficiency of large farms and landowners who did not invest their wealth in more productive endeavors. The civilista strategy was to improve the infrastructure, develop unexploited regions and products, increase immigration, and invest the profits in the industrial development of the country (57-69). Kristal says that civilista thought related to the Indian includes opposition to the tribute system, unlawful conscription, uncompensated labor, abduction, and abuses committed by priests and other authorities. They favor education as well as the moral and material development of the Indians (90-91).

An important journal in the civilista movement was La Revista de Lima. It published political and sociological essays, and literature, including the following works (69). Ladislao Graña's Sé bueno y serás feliz (1861) contrasts a

hardworking Indian with an abusive governor. The Indian is jailed, conscripted into the army, and loses all of his possessions. In spite of his problems, he is industrious, surmounts his problems, and becomes a successful property owner. The governor has a shady past, tries to rape the Indian's wife, and gets richer through unproductive activities. He is ungrateful when the Indian saves his life and he and his family nurse him back to health (72-85). In "Si haces mal no esperes bien" (1861), Juana Manuela Gorriti attacks those who rape Indian women or kidnap their children to be servants in Lima. She is especially critical of soldiers, priests, large landowners, and governors. The romantic theme deals with two young people who fall in love only to find out that they have the same father, a soldier. The father had raped an Indian woman, and the child is the half-sister and wife of the young man. She dies and he becomes a monk (86-89). "No era ella" (1862), by Juan Vicente Camacho, describes a man who accuses a woman, abducted to be a servant in Lima, of a small theft and tortures her to death, only to find out that one of his children is responsible (89-90).

The industrial elite, the third group, arose after the trauma of losing the War of the Pacific (1879-83) to Chile, and its principal spokesperson was Manuel González Prada. While the export oligarchy (civilistas) wanted to invest national capital from export profits in industrialization,

the industrial elite wanted to go further and include loans and international investment to augment national capital. They proposed the immediate integration of the Indians through massive education, democracy and private property (95). According to Kristal,

> González Prada never argued for the protection of Indian community property, nor for the preservation of Indian culture, nor for any kind of self-determination for the Indians that was not understood directly within the context of an emerging capitalist Peru. (120)[3]

Influenced heavily by González Prada, Clorinda Matto de Turner wrote a trilogy of novels, Aves sin nido (1889), Indole (1891), and Herencia (1895), and argued that the condition of the Indians was due to social reasons, not race (Kristal, The Andes 135). The primary solution in Aves sin nido is to educate the Indians and abusive whites. Models of civilization are Lima and Europe, especially England. The most positive characters are Europeans, those who live in cities, and entrepreneurs associated with mining (146-54).

Both Antonio Cornejo Polar (Literatura y sociedad 40-41) and Tomás G. Escajadillo ("La narrativa indigenista" 77-78) criticize the novel for not including the problem of land and exploitative large landowners. Escajadillo

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[3] However, it should be noted that there are three periods in González Prada's development. Originally a civilista, he became a spokesperson for the industrial elite, and then embraced anarchist thought. In the latter period he argued that the Indians should take up arms to defend themselves (Kristal, "Del indigenismo" 63).

suggests that this omission is due in part to the limitations of Manuel González Prada's thought. For example, in the "Discurso en el Politeama" (1888) González Prada says that judges, governors and priests make up the trinidad embrutecedora, and does not mention landowners ("La narrativa indigenista" 77-78). Cornejo Polar argues that while there is no explicit criticism of the landowners, it does denounce the system that sustains them. By utilizing labor and impeding the creation of a wider market, the landowners obstruct efforts to modernize the economy. In this sense, the novel foreshadows the coming rupture between large landowners and the modernizing bourgeoisie (Literatura y sociedad 42-43).

Early Twentieth Century Indigenismo

In the first decades of the twentieth century the growth of the mestizo middle classes dramatically changed the face of Peru. The number of students in public schools quadrupled from 1906 to 1928. The number of newspapers and journals grew from 167 in 1918 to 473 in 1928, and literary and artistic newspapers and journals grew from 18 in 1918 to 88 in 1928 (Flores Galindo, "Los intelectuales y el problema nacional" 142-43). In the 1920s both the APRA (Alianza Popular Revolucionaria Americana) and Communist parties were founded. According to Julio Cotler, the latter's rigid adherence to the Communist International in the 1930s

allowed the APRA to become the principal party of the popular and middle classes until the 1950s (Clases, estados y nación 232-33). In the 1920s and 1930s the indigenistas eclipsed the dominance that criollismo and hispanismo had exercised within the cultural field (Cornejo Polar, La formación 117). Within a larger context, the indigenista movement was part of an anti-oligarchy movement (Cornejo Polar, Literatura y sociedad 12-13).

During this period there were many competing forms of indigenismo. Alberto Flores Galindo argues that there were at least four versions. Some intellectual members of the oligarchy, such as Víctor Andrés Belaúnde, saw education as a solution. Two other types are the indigenismo of the government of Augusto B. Leguía (1919-30) and the indigenismo of denunciation with sentimental overtones, as organized by Pedro Zulen and Dora Mayer in the Asociación Pro-Indígena. The fourth category includes groups that did not see Indians as inferior, and looked to specific solutions to overcoming their exploitation. Flores Galindo adds that there were different hybrids of these forms and, at times, different versions coexisted within the same groups ("Los intelectuales y el problema nacional" 149-50). To illustrate the contradictions and complexities one encounters in analyzing the indigenismo of that period, Antonio Cornejo Polar points out that in order to open up an internal market, some sectors of the bourgeoisie advocated

agrarian reform, one of the principal demands of many indigenistas. At the same time, these sectors were among the worst exploiters of the urban proletariat (Literatura y sociedad 19-20).

Angel Rama argues that indigenismo after World War I reflects the demands of the lower sectors of the emerging white and mestizo middle class. He claims that the literature reveals a mestizo cosmovision rather than an indigenous one (147-49). With their ascendancy truncated by the rigid and archaic structure of Peruvian society at the time, in attacking the structure they were "amparándose del indigenismo pero expresando en realidad al mesticismo. Un mesticismo que sin embargo no se atreve a revelar su nombre verdadero" (149). Thus, indigenistas continued to pursue their own interests under the guise of helping the Indians, just as previous indigenistas did.

Modernist Indigenista Narrative

The most representative writer of modernist indigenismo is Ventura García Calderón (1886-1959). The son of a former president, he was born and died in France, and spent close to fifty years there. One indication of his international reputation at the time is that prior to World War II he came close to winning the Nobel Prize for Literature. In Peru he has not had the same level of acclaim. For example, Mario Vargas Llosa says that he had probably never seen an Indian

in his life ("José María Arguedas y el indio" 139). While Tomás G. Escajadillo acknowledges that García Calderón was an important innovator of the Peruvian short story ("La narrativa indigenista" 96), he considers his depiction of the Indian to be "inexacta, pueril, exótica y sensacionalista," reflecting the vision of his social class, which exploits the Indian (99). Efraín Kristal says that the civilista ideology, which dominated Peru's political and cultural life until the 1920s, influenced García Calderón. Articles in journals such as La Sierra, La Revista Universitaria, and José Carlos Mariátegui's Amauta that dispute García Calderón's views are proof that he was an important part of the debate about the Indian (The Andes 194).

In his indigenista narrative the Indian is primarily an inferior being with an admirable past. Kristal says that the perception that the Indians are impenetrable leads to the idea that they are hiding something and can not be trusted. In addition, there are conflicting feelings of attraction and repulsion. Kristal explains this as an influence from the colonial period. There was an attraction to Indian women for sexual pleasures and a repulsion because the Indians were common laborers. In the narrative it is acceptable to sexually exploit women and to use physical punishment up to a certain point. The white man can be a positive influence by civilizing the Indian (The Andes 200-

9). Tomás G. Escajadillo points out that García Calderón does coincide to a certain extent with other indigenistas in his anticlericalism. Although there is strong criticism of priests, Escajadillo argues that it does not fall within his definition of indigenista narrative because the priests act as individuals, not as part of a system that exploits the Indian ("La narrativa indigenista" 101-2).

Orthodox Indigenista Narrative

Roughly speaking, indigenista narrative was the dominant literary form in Peru from the 1920s through the 1940s. Escajadillo describes it as a period of orthodox, or traditional, indigenismo ("La narrativa indigenista" 272). Three principal indigenista writers during this period are Enrique López Albújar, Ciro Alegría, and José María Arguedas.

Escajadillo argues that Enrique López Albújar is the first indigenista writer and that the first time flesh and blood Indians appear in Peruvian narrative is in his Cuentos andinos (1920). In the short stories many Indians are rebellious and are frequently very cruel. Another type of Indian appears more humble and submissive, but deep down there is an attitude of rebelliousness. López Albújar condemns the indigenous perspective of the world and argues for their incorporation into the western and Christian world. In this, he differs from later indigenistas, such as

Ciro Alegría and José María Arguedas, who defer more to indigenous beliefs (119-39). Seventeen years later, López Albújar published Nuevos cuentos andinos (1937). The short stories contain a more critical vision of the social structure in the sierra, as well as being more anticlerical, and anti-misti (160).

Leftist ideologies influenced Ciro Alegría (1909-67) and José María Arguedas (1911-69) during their writing careers. Alegría was a militant in the APRA, and was jailed various times in the early 1930s. Exiled in 1934, he did not return to Peru until 1960. Efraín Kristal argues that one example of the influence of APRA thought in Alegría's works is the valuing of the indigenous community, seen in the contrast between the large landowners in El mundo es ancho y ajeno. The first works with an indigenous community and the second seeks to destroy it ("Del indigenismo" 67-68).[4] Like Alegría, Arguedas was also imprisoned in the 1930s. In 1965 he remarked that, in addition to his experience of living with Indians, the influence of the journal Amauta and the social doctrines of that era were an essential part in his being able to produce literature (Primer encuentro de narradores peruanos 235-36). In "No soy un aculturado..." (1968), Arguedas declared that in reading Mariátegui and Lenin he encountered order in the

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[4] Alegría wrote his major works before he returned to Peru from exile and joined Acción Popular.

world and "fue la ideología socialista y el estar cerca de los movimientos socialistas lo que dio dirección y permanencia, un claro destino a la energía que sentí desencadenarse durante la juventud" (El zorro de arriba 14).

Both Tomás G. Escajadillo and Antonio Cornejo Polar speak of the changes in Arguedas's literary production. Cornejo Polar argues that there is a progression that begins with describing conflicts between Indians and whites to contrasting the Andes with the coastal region to the relationship of a dominated country with the dominating country (La novela peruana 144). In terms of literary categories, Escajadillo says that he progressed from orthodox indigenismo to neoindigenismo and beyond ("La narrativa indigenista" 239).

In the Primer Encuentro de Narradores Peruanos in 1965, the third debate centered on the Peruvian novel and quickly became a debate on indigenista narrative. Antonio Cornejo Polar argued that El Padre Horán (1848) initiated indigenista narrative in Peru and that indigenismo should be considered a constant in Peruvian literature (Primer encuentro 234-35). Arguedas mentioned his debt to previous indigenista writers: "Sin López Albújar y aun sin Ventura García Calderón, ni Ciro, ni yo, ni todos los que estamos aquí, seríamos lo que somos" (243). Ciro Alegría contended that there are many forms of indigenismo. In speculating on its future, he said that perhaps the ismo of indigenismo was

leading them to speak of it in a temporal sense, because isms come and go. He went on to divide indigenismo into two basic categories. The first is more combative in vindicating the rights of the Indians, and he postulated that this version could disappear if the social situation were to change. The second is the intellectual valorization or revalorization of the Indian (250). He concluded by saying "El indigenismo es una afirmación del futuro y una fuerza en sí, inextinguible, como afirmación de la parte indígena de la Nación" (253).

From the chronicles to the culmination of orthodox indigenismo, writers have described an indigenous world assaulted on all sides. These works are informed by various political ideologies that affect writers' descriptions of the Indians and possible solutions to the "Indian problem." The literary currents of the period influence the techniques used. With the beginning of neoindigenismo in the 1950s, writers take advantage of increasingly sophisticated knowledge of the indigenous world and reinvigorate the genre with more contemporary literary techniques.

Historical and Literary Developments since the 1950s

Actors

Since the 1950s Peru has seen numerous changes. While the landed oligarchy was in decline, newer sectors of society began pushing for more inclusive policies for the

popular classes. Despite diverse economic policies implemented by different governments, the economy has seen a relative decline in the last few decades.

Two key actors in Peruvian society began to withdraw their support of the landed oligarchy in the 1950s. The church had traditionally been an ally of the landed oligarchy. In the 1950s some elements, concerned with the problems of poverty, began to oppose the landed oligarchy. An additional expression of this were the Christian parties that arose during the 1950s. As was the case with the church, the institutional preoccupations of the armed forces roughly coincided with the oligarchy's interests, but in the 1950s and 1960s this began to change. In the name of national defense, the army would attempt to play a greater role in expanding the state and developing the country. In the 1960s the idea of nationalism was added to the goal of development. In analyzing the campesino movements in the 1950s, it became clear that the archaic system in the sierra was the root cause and that these movements could develop into guerrilla movements. During the 1950s and 1960s segments of the church and the army unified their objectives and began to see the oligarchy and imperialism as enemies (Cotler, Clases, estados y nación 314-26).

In 1956 new sectors of the popular and middle classes made their entry into the political scene with reformist parties such as the Movimiento Social-Progresista, the

Partido Demócrata-Cristiano, and the Partido Acción Popular, the latter winning 36.7% of the vote (Cotler 301). Acción Popular's Fernando Belaúnde Terry was president 1963-68 and 1980-85. His party criticizes indigenista positions for aggravating problems and leading to division. The primary policy of Acción Popular regarding the indigenous peoples is to move toward mestizaje:

> Sólo el mestizaje puede superar el desgarramiento, sólo la fusión de las razas, de los pensamientos, de los sentimientos. Sólo un mestizaje, plena expresión de aculturación auténtica, puede contribuir a forjar una cultura unitaria y creadora. (Zegarra Pinedo 26)

The other principal party since 1956 is the APRA. Having spent most of its existence as an illegal party, in 1956 the APRA began making deals in order to achieve its goal of gaining control of the government through the electoral process. Prior to the 1956 presidential elections, Manuel Prado offered the APRA a deal, called la convivencia. In exchange for support in the elections, the party would be legalized and become a political ally of his government (Cotler 295). In the 1962 elections the APRA won a plurality, but did not receive the necessary third of the vote, throwing the election to the congress. Before they could elect a president, there was a military coup (350-51). Cotler says that during the Prado and Belaúnde regimes one of the APRA's roles was to be a mediator and intermediary between the dominant and popular classes. Through its control of the Confederación de Trabajadores del Perú (CTP)

it was able to control and, if needed, hold back popular demands (339). One result was that the APRA lost members, especially younger ones, to more radical movements.

During the first Belaúnde government (1963-68), the alliance between the APRA and the Unión Nacional Odriísta (UNO) signified the effective parliamentary control over the executive branch. The result was that the alliance protected bourgeois and landowner interests, and thwarted agrarian reform and union activities outside the control of the APRA-controlled CTP (Cotler 355-59). In addition to stymieing Belaúnde's legislative programs, the APRA-UNO alliance forced his hand in other ways:

> Es así como frente al bloqueo apro-odriísta, Belaúnde se encontró reprimiendo al movimiento campesino y los ejes del movimiento laboral que perseguían su autonomía del control aprista. Así, el gobierno reprimía a sus bases populares de apoyo, gracias a la acción de sus enemigos. (360)

The four governments between 1968 and 1990 also had difficulties implementing their policies. Manuel Castillo Ochoa argues in La escena astillada (1992) that the four governments "no lograron establecer pactos implícitos, alianzas entre actores que pudieran dar perdubilidad a la acumulación y al desarrollo que pretendían" (86). He says that the Velasco Alvarado military government (1968-75) experienced an economic crisis in part due to the disintegration of its alliance. In the mid 1970s the working classes left the pact and increased their demands. In addition, the entrepreneurial industrial sector had

opposed certain policies since the beginning of the government (43). After the August 1975 military coup, the Morales Bermúdez government (1975-80) began to neutralize the Velasco Alvarado strategy and to implement monetarist policies. The economic policies favored the exporting sectors as well as the modern financial and industrial fractions (44-48). The second Belaúnde government (1980-85) undertook a contradictory policy. The economic team followed neoliberal monetarist policies while the party championed populist and redistributive policies (61-65). The García government (1985-90) changed the economic focus more toward the internal market and hoped, in strengthening that sector, to expand the exporting sector. As with previous governments, García was unable to construct an alliance to enable him to fully implement his economic plan (68-79).

Since the 1950s various new and traditional actors begin to represent new sectors of the popular and middle classes, but an inability to achieve a workable alliance among actors has hindered the governments. Due to this, governments have been less effective in implementing their policies. In addition, successive governments follow different policies and spend considerable time and effort dismantling the policies of the previous government. This has had a direct effect on the campesino segment of society.

Agrarian Reform

Many argue that the agrarian reforms since the 1960s have been too limited. Wilfredo Kapsoli argues that the agrarian reforms in 1962 and 1964 accomplished little: "Las mencionadas leyes lejos de solucionar el problema de la tierra y del campesino, lo agravaron. Destinadas a beneficiar y proteger a las clases dominantes del país, en la práctica no pudieron ser implementadas" (Los movimientos campesinos 105).

The Velasco Alvarado military government (1968-75) also initiated agrarian reforms. When Velasco Alvarado announced the agrarian reform law in 1969, he said that one goal was to do away with the latifundio and minifundio systems and to replace them with small and medium properties. He wanted to develop a modern agrarian sector and, from this base, to create a greater internal market that would help the process of industrialization (Velasco Alvarado 11-14). In the announcement he suggested substituting the word campesino for Indian:

> la Ley de Reforma Agraria ha dado su respaldo a esa gran masa de campesinos que forman las comunidades indígenas que, a partir de hoy-- abandonando un calificativo de resabios racistas y de prejuicio inaceptable-- se llamarán Comunidades Campesinas. (16)

According to Marie-Chantal Barre, the military government's policies achieved little. If his indigenista policy was progressive for the indigenous populations in the Amazon,

"no dio importancia a los problemas de la sierra, limitándose a negar la presencia india en los Andes, por el hecho mismo de asimilarla a la clase campesina" (57).

Wilfredo Kapsoli argued in 1985 that when there has been agrarian reform the result is counter to the interests of the campesino community. Some 3,000,000 people, 50% of the rural population, live in some 3000 officially recognized communities. Of this population, only 122,000 families have received land. Although the struggle for land still continues, it is now primarily in coastal and urban areas. In the mountains the presence of Sendero Luminoso, the armed forces, and rondas campesinas preclude similar measures (Los movimientos campesinos 130-31).

In one of the few publications by Sendero Luminoso, they argue that Andean agriculture continues in a semifeudal state. They contend that the agrarian reforms between 1963 and 1979 failed. Their reasoning is that the agrarian reforms affected less than one third of the campesino population ("Desarrollar la guerra popular sirviendo a la revolución mundial" 70-71).

The Revolutionary Left

In the early 1960s the first groups of the revolutionary left were founded. Some were defectors from the APRA. According to Julio Cotler, others, influenced by the Cuban Revolution, broke with the Communist Party and

rapidly supplanted the APRA's influence in the universities (336). In the late 1950s and early 1960s the Trotskyist Hugo Blanco had some success in organizing campesinos in the La Convención region of Cuzco until his arrest on May 29, 1963 (Gott 314-29). In 1965 there were brief guerrilla movements by the Movimiento de Izquierda Revolucionaria (MIR) and the Ejército de Liberación Nacional (ELN), neither lasting more than six months. One result was that the military realized that something had to be done to solve the problems confronting the Indian. If nothing were done, the probabilities of a successful guerrilla movement would increase (Cotler 362-64). After the 1968 military coup, some elements of the revolutionary left joined the Velasco Alvarado government. The Movimiento Revolucionario Túpac Amaru (MRTA), the major guerrilla competitor to Sendero Luminoso, announced its existence on July 28, 1984. In June 1992 the government arrested, Víctor Polay, the leader of the MRTA, in Lima and the MRTA appears to be in disarray and on the verge of complete collapse.

Claiming to be the legitimate heirs of the Communist party founded by José Carlos Mariátegui, Sendero Luminoso is one of the groups spawned from the fragmentation of the Peruvian Communist Party split in 1964. The pro-Soviet wing called itself the PCP Unidad, and the pro-Chinese group called itself the PCP Bandera Roja (Degregori 166). Degregori points out the uniqueness of this split: "En este

último grupo [pro-Chinese] se queda poco más de la mitad de la militancia y prácticamente todo el trabajo campesino. Perú es uno de los pocos países de América Latina donde sucede algo semejante" (166).

Sendero Luminoso began its armed struggle in 1980. On May 17, 1980 they burned the ballot boxes in Chuschi, Ayacucho. The first declared state of emergency occurred in Ayacucho in October 1981, when the government deployed 1400 sinchis, a special unit of the Civil Guard (McCormick 16). By 1982 Sendero Luminoso was experiencing problems due to the arrest of several of its top leaders. On March 2, 1982 they attacked the Ayacucho prison where they were held and freed 78 prisoners convicted of terrorism and 169 others held for common crimes (Gorriti 254-60). In the first years of the insurgency, there were many misconceptions about Sendero Luminoso: "Before Sendero stepped up its urban operations, the movement was viewed widely as an Indian problem, which is to say it was not viewed widely as a problem at all" (McCormick 25). Estimates vary, but by 1994 the conflict has caused around 26,000 deaths and 25 billion dollars in losses. On September 12, 1992 the government captured Abimael Guzmán, the leader of Sendero Luminoso, in Lima. By September 1993 Guzmán had written two letters to President Alberto Fujimori asking to negotiate peace. How his capture and his peace overtures will affect the movement is uncertain at this time. While some members have turned

themselves into the government, other groups vow to continue the armed struggle.

To a certain extent Sendero Luminoso falls within the indigenista tradition. Nelson Manrique points out that while it is silent about the ethnic factor, it is a significant element in its growth. It started in Ayacucho, Apurímac, and Huancavelica, a region where the majority of the population only speaks Quechua ("La década de la violencia" 163). Regarding the composition, "los cuadros senderistas son mayoritariamente jóvenes provincianos, mestizos, dominantemente ligados a procesos de descampesinización reciente" (163-64). He argues that if the ethnic question does not arise in the theoretical discourse of Sendero Luminoso, in practice it is crucial (164). Due to this, it can be argued that Sendero Luminoso falls within the indigenista tradition. As is the case with other indigenista movements, mestizos and whites try to use the Indian for their own agenda. Whether or not one considers Sendero Luminoso to be an indigenista movement, it has had an enormous impact on the indigenous populations of the Peruvian sierra since 1980.

Narrative

In the 1950s indigenista narrative began to lose its dominant position in the cultural field. Efraín Kristal argues that one of the principal historical reasons for this

is the massive migration from the Andes to the cities. The migration was the result of the bankruptcy of the traditional agricultural economy based in the latifundios, which had been one of the major subjects treated in indigenista narrative ("Del indigenismo" 57). With the eclipse of the landed oligarchy, a new dominant group gained power. Kristal says that it is made up of three groups: 1) the oligarchy in decadence that fell with the rise of industrialists and exporters, 2) a new middle class that benefits from the cheap labor of the recently arrived campesinos, and 3) a new dominant sector allied with international commerce that benefits from exports, imports, and, at times, industrialization (69). Kristal argues that portions of the works of three of Peru's more well-known writers are associated with these three groups. Julio Ramón Ribeyro describes the vision of the oligarchy in decline, Mario Vargas Llosa (in his first novels) the new middle classes, and Alfredo Bryce Echenique the third sector. Kristal concludes that as a presence in urban narrative and in indigenismo the Indian continues to have a major impact on Peruvian narrative and is the key to understanding the recent transformations of Peru (69-74).

The subordinate position of indigenista narrative and writers in the cultural field also reflects differences in the socioeconomic classes of writers and their ability to publish. According to Carlos Calderón Fajardo, class

divisions divide young writers in Peru. He argues that one group, inspired by the models of Mario Vargas Llosa, Julio Ramón Ribeyro, and Alfredo Bryce Echenique, tends to avoid writing about the realities of contemporary Peru. The other group, many of popular extraction, writes about themes such as subversion, violence, the shanty towns, Andean influences in the city, and other social themes (105-6).

> Se trata de universos socialmente constituídos, con sus propios mundos sociales, mitos y ambientes, modelos y paradigmas, publicaciones y hasta con el propio aparato crítico de respaldo. El diálogo interclasista entre narradores parece haber terminado. (105)

Another factor confronting writers is the abysmal gap between those who write and those who can publish. Antonio Cornejo Polar and Luis Fernando Vidal cite the example of almost two thousand people entering the short story competition sponsored by the magazine Caretas in 1982. In the same year only three collections of short stories were published. They add that in various literary competitions indigenista and neoindigenista narrative is being written, but not published (Nuevo cuento peruano 12-13).

An integral part of the debate about the Indian, indigenista narrative is much more than a literary movement or school. With roots in the chronicles of the conquest, since the mid 1800s it has constantly defined and redefined conceptions of the Indian. These definitions both reflect and influence the political and anthropological debate about

the Indian. In addition, they reflect different visions of the sierra and the nation.

Various factors affect the selection of the works analyzed in the following chapters. The novel or short story must take place in the sierra and works dealing primarily with the revalorization of the indigenous cultures are not be included. With the exception of the third chapter, the work must deal with relations of power or violence since 1980.

CHAPTER 3
LITERARY AND HISTORICAL ANTECEDENTS: 1960S AND 1970S

In order to better understand the context of Peru after 1980, this chapter will analyze two narrative works that take place in the 1960s and 1970s. During this period there was much social ferment. The country witnessed massive campesino uprisings, the fragmentation of the Peruvian Communist party, abortive guerrilla movements, a military coup that led the country to the left, and another military coup that moved the country back toward the right.

In the 1970s Manuel Scorza wrote five novels about massive campesino uprisings in the central Andes. In the last novel of the series, La tumba del relámpago (1979), Scorza is highly critical of the socioeconomic structure, leftist political parties and organizations, and the guerrilla movements of 1965-66. He argues that because of the proletarianization of the campesinos it would be possible to have a successful socialist revolution with the campesinos at the vanguard. La tumba del relámpago will be analyzed as to Scorza's description of the previous subjects as well as reading the novel as the search for a new revolutionary praxis.

Hildebrando Pérez Huarancca, one of five principal ideologues of Sendero Luminoso, published Los ilegítimos in 1980. The short stories deal with the Ayacucho region in the 1960s and 1970s. Three principal aspects will be examined: the description of the campesino poor in Ayacucho, their thwarted attempts to challenge the system that oppresses them, and Pérez Huarancca's narrative vision of the future of the campesino poor.

Manuel Scorza

Life and Critical Reception

Manual Scorza played many roles in his life, including being a political exile, renowned poet, publisher, political activist, and novelist. He was born in Lima in 1928, but lived in the mountainous department of Huancavelica from ages six to eleven. From 1949-55 he was exiled, spending most of his time in Mexico ("Yo viajo del mito" 48). In 1954 he left the APRA, publishing an open letter with the title of "Good-bye, Mister Haya" (Aldaz 19).

In the 1950s and early 1960s he was active as a poet, a promotor of the publishing industry, and as a political activist. In Mexico and Peru he won prizes for his poetry ("Yo viajo del mito" 48). As a poet, he was within the area of "social poetry," and was a major participant in polemics with "pure poets." Beginning in 1958 he attempted to promote the publishing industry and to expand the literary

audience in Peru and other Spanish-speaking countries with Festivales del Libro and Populibros. Although the boom in sales was extraordinary, it was a fleeting success. According to Antonio Cornejo Polar, the international response to Mario Vargas Llosa's La ciudad y los perros (1964) had two results. The first was to largely end the efforts to develop a national literature through a national editorial system. The second was to show the effectiveness of the international route that Vargas Llosa had followed ("Sobre el 'neoindigenismo'" 551-52).[1] With the campesino agitation in the central sierra, Scorza joined the Movimiento Comunal del Perú in 1960 and became its Political Secretary in 1961. Among other activities, he published manifestos denouncing abuses of the campesinos in the department of Pasco, and traveled to Cuzco to meet with the Trotskyist Hugo Blanco to inquire about possible alliances. After the repression of the campesino movement in Pasco, Scorza traveled throughout the central sierra, and gathered information about the movement.

In 1967 he went into voluntary exile, settled in Paris in 1968 and began working on the five novels of the "Silent War." In 1970 he published the first novel, Redoble por Rancas, to international acclaim. In 1971 the military government of Velasco Alvarado freed Héctor Chacón, the

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[1] Scorza also followed the international route, publishing his novels outside of Peru.

actual person upon whom Scorza based the protagonist in Redoble, from prison ("Yo viajo del mito" 48-49). The other novels in the series are: Garabombo, el invisible (1972), El jinete insomne (1977), Cantar de Agapito Robles (1977), and La tumba del relámpago (1979). In 1983 he published La danza inmóvil.[2] On November 27, 1983 he died in a plane crash.

Although Scorza is related to a certain extent to the boom of Spanish American narrative, he also remains distant from it. While there is undoubtedly influence of the Spanish American "new narrative" in his work, he chooses the indigenista tradition, which is previous to the boom and is a target of many writers affiliated with the boom (Cornejo Polar, "Sobre el 'neoindigenismo'" 552-53). Escajadillo points out that Scorza never was a part of the mutual self-promotion of many boom writers. He also says that Scorza's interpretation of important historic events differs greatly from that of the boom, which he characterizes as fleeing from historical interpretation "para dedicarse o al juego fantasioso más puro, o la presentación de hechos cotidianos banales y no-significativos, o una mezcla de éstos y otros componentes análogos" ("Scorza antes de la última batalla" 184).

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[2] For more information on Scorza's published works and translations of his novels, see Schmidt and Escorza.

Due to various factors, Scorza's works have not received a rigorous critical treatment. In 1991 and 1993 Friedhelm Schmidt published two bibliographies of works by Scorza and articles about him and his work. In the 1991 article he comments that even though there are over 300 articles, most are interviews, reviews, or small references (273). In a 1984 posthumous homage to Scorza in the Revista de crítica literaria latinoamericana, Antonio Cornejo Polar and Nelson Osorio comment that while Scorza has had great international success in terms of translations and criticism, in Peru he has been virtually ignored. They state that, while the journal had published one article, a note, and two reviews, Scorza's work needs more rigorous critical study ("Homenaje a Manuel Scorza"). In a 1978 article, Tomás G. Escajadillo criticizes the Peruvian intellectual community's attitude toward Manuel Scorza's works:

> el juicio crítico en torno a la novelística de Scorza ha estado oscurecido o deformado por las "simpatías" y (sobre todo) las "antipatías" que suscita la persona del narrador. Me parece que es necesario decir las cosas muy claramente: en el Perú, en muchos sectores culturales y específicamente literarios, existe un prejuicio en contra de Manuel Scorza. Y esta antipatía ha estado presente en la crítica literaria, sea en forma de evaluaciones negativas de la narrativa de este autor, sea en la forma más habitual de un silencio en torno a su obra. ("Scorza antes de la última batalla" 184)

Escajadillo contends that Scorza dominated Peruvian narrative in the 1970s and is one of the most important

Peruvian writers of the twentieth century ("Scorza y el neoindigenismo" 9).

Historical Background

Scorza's novels deal with the campesino uprisings in the central sierra in the late 1950s and early 1960s. During this period hundreds of thousands of campesinos seized land and challenged the authority of the Peruvian government. Howard Handelman estimates that 40 of the 53 indigenous communities in the Pasco department participated in the land seizures, with a similar number in Junín, and over 140 in Cuzco. He believes that the total number of invasions was between 350 and 400, with over 300,000 people participating in one of the largest campesino movements in Latin American history (121).

Two underlying reasons for the land invasions were a lack of land and a recession that ravaged the mining industry. While the indigenous communities made up 75% of the rural population in the sierra, they owned only 10-15% of the land (Handelman 26-30). In 1960 seventeen families and corporations owned 93% of all agricultural and pasture land in the department of Pasco (65-66). Coupled with less land was the vast influence that the Cerro de Pasco Corporation, a multinational corporation based in the United States and primarily concerned with mining, had in the departments of Pasco and Junín. The corporation controlled

all the phases of mining from extraction to sales, most of production of electricity in central Peru, and its other economic interests in the area had a pervasive influence on the populace and the local economy (Kruijt 55-58). An additional pressure that Scorza cites in an interview with Héctor Tizón was an economic crisis in the mining sector that began in 1959. It left thousands of campesinos without work and forced them to return to their communities (60). Caught between insufficient land and high unemployment, land seizures increased dramatically.

The initial response of the Manuel Prado government was to use local police to evict comuneros from invaded lands. Due to the scope of the invasions and a lack of manpower, by the end of 1960 many communities still maintained control of seized lands. The failure of this policy led to a military intervention, called "Operation Eviction" (operación desalojado). Throughout 1961 there were evictions, sometimes violent, followed by land being seized again. In March of 1962 some 3500 campesinos, armed only with sticks, stones, and farm tools, fought with the police. As a result of this massacre, miners and railroad workers in Cerro de Pasco called a solidarity strike, constructed barricades, and nearly controlled the city. The military retook the city, declared martial law, and banned meetings of over four people. These actions temporarily ended land invasions in Pasco and Junín (Handelman 77-78).

La tumba del relámpago

In the five novels, collectively called the "Silent War," Manuel Scorza describes various aspects of these campesino uprisings. In an interview with Modesta Suárez, Scorza states that the novels describe the progression from an indigenous mythical mentality to a revolutionary mentality found in La tumba del relámpago (92). In an interview with Ernesto González Bermejo, Scorza says that, in part, he decided to write the novels because the Andean campesino movements fascinated him. Furthermore, he did not agree with the guerrilla schema of the 1960s (qtd. in Moraña 75). As is the case of the other novels in the series, La tumba del relámpago describes abuses committed against campesinos, their organization and resistance against these abuses, and their subsequent violent repression. However, the emphasis is more on mestizo and white leaders' efforts to help create a successful movement.

Many characters are based on actual participants in the movement. The protagonist, Genaro Ledesma, is based on the real-life Ledesma, who has been deeply involved in fighting for campesinos and miners from the central sierra. He was briefly mayor of Cerro de Pasco, and has been both a congressman and a senator. In the novel Ledesma is the link between campesino and leftist leaders. He attempts to forge a union between the two groups, but the end result is marginal participation by the left and violent suppression

of the campesinos. Other real-life people who appear as characters include Jorge del Prado, Saturnino Paredes, Elías Tacunán, and Manuel Scorza. Jorge del Prado has been the leader of the Communist party for decades. Saturnino Paredes led the Maoist faction of the Communist party after the 1964 Sino-Soviet split. Elías Tacunán was a principal figure in organizing campesinos and in creating the Movimiento Comunal del Perú. In an interview, the real-life Genaro Ledesma says that around 90% of the novel is based on the actual facts and some 10% is fiction (qtd. in Suárez in Forgues, La estrategia mítica 167).

Although much of the novel is based on actual events, it is still a work of fiction. Roland Forgues notes that Scorza saw his works within the genre of realism. Forgues points out that many critics have examined the relationship of historical reality and fiction in Scorza's works, but have often come to contradictory and opposite conclusions. He argues that a literary work, being a work of art, changes the reality that is its referent (12). However, "no significa, ni mucho menos, que por eso deje de ser un testimonio fidedigno y válido sobre esa misma realidad" (La estrategia mítica 12). The purpose of this discussion of La tumba del relámpago is not to separate fact from fiction, but rather to analyze Scorza's overall narrative vision in the novel regarding the possibilities of future revolutionary movements with the campesino as an integral

part.[3] Unless otherwise mentioned, it should be understood that when the analysis refers to characters based on actual people, they are considered fictional characters.

In an interview in 1980, Scorza contended that the campesino uprisings in the late 1950s and early 1960s were vastly different from the numerous indigenous rebellions that have taken place since the conquest. The key was the proletarianization of the campesino class due to their experiences in the mines. These experiences gave them an idea of class consciousness and led them to fight for their rights. In addition, he argued that leaders from the cities had lost their influence: "Ahora la gran lucha campesina en el Perú no se da como consecuencia de la prédica de la ciudad; despierta como consecuencia de una toma de conciencia de la clase campesina, en la cual la ideología de la ciudad no tiene ninguna influencia" (Tizón 60).

Scorza believed in revolution: "Creo en la revolución latinoamericana. He estado con la revolución cubana. Creo que la lucha armada es una de las pocas vías que quedan en territorios como los nuestros" (Suárez 94). In fact, Antonio Cornejo Polar argues that the novel is the search for a new revolutionary praxis:

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[3] For additional perspectives on Scorza's novels and the historical background, see: Modesta Suárez, "Cerro de Pasco: Historia de una masacre: Testimonio de Genaro Ledesma," in Roland Forgues, La estrategia mítica de Manuel Scorza, and Wilfredo Kapsoli, "Manuel Scorza: Redoble por Rancas: Historia y ficción," in his Literatura e historia del Perú.

> En La tumba del relámpago, en efecto, se insiste una y otra vez en la necesidad de elaborar una táctica y una estrategia revolucionarias que acaben con las limitaciones que, en estos órdenes, tiene el pensamiento mítico; pero, con igual insistencia, se señala la urgencia de recompensar los recursos ideológicos de raíz occidental para adecuarlos a requerimientos específicos de las luchas andinas. Naturalmente, la distancia entre aquella ideología y estos requerimientos es enorme (un personaje advierte que "la desgracia de nuestras luchas es que no coinciden con nuestras ideologías; la rabia, el coraje, son de aquí, y las ideas son de allá", La tumba..., p. 235), pero el proyecto de superar este abismo mediante la reelaboración nacional (o mejor, campesina e indígena) del pensamiento revolucionario aparece como la única solución. ("Sobre el 'neoindigenismo'" 556)

The following analysis will focus on three principal aspects of Scorza's La tumba del relámpago: the triangle of exploiters of the campesino (economic, religious, and government authorities); the increasing class consciousness of the campesinos; and leftist groups and ideologies that hindered or helped the movement. The analysis will center on the description of the various groups and perceived changes in political awareness that would enhance the possibility of revolutionary success.

Landowners

As is the case with other narrative in the indigenista tradition, the system of land tenure in La tumba is of critical importance for the livelihood of campesinos and a key element in their exploitation. Several characters

represent large landowners, and almost all are criticized. One example is a landowner who empties a community school and converts it into a stable for his livestock (La tumba 204). However, a few landowners have the respect of their serfs and peacefully resolve disputes with neighboring communities (44).

The novel cites many causes that lead the campesinos to seize lands of the Cerro de Pasco Corporation. Its eleven haciendas cover 500,000 hectares, including 77.8% of the pasture land in Junín. Its holdings are a little less than the land that 90% of the comuneros in Peru hold (174). The campesinos lose more land due to various expansions of its Bombón dam and electrical plant, which eventually covers 40,000 hectares with water (50). Pollution from its mines kills most of the fish in Junín lake and forces communities like Pari to give up their livelihood as fishermen (168). With the expansion of the lands of the Cerro de Pasco Corporation, pollution from its mines ruining fishing, and the world-wide mineral recession leading to firings, many campesinos are forced to take the drastic measure of land seizures.

On a smaller scale, the Indian Tomás Chamorro and his family, owners of the Jarria hacienda, are characters who brutally exploit the campesinos. Chamorro's social and economic ascendancy is a clear example of Manuel González Prada's assertion that the worst enemies of a class are

often those who originate from it: "cuando un individuo se eleva sobre el nivel de su clase social, suele convertirse en el peor enemigo de ella" (320). Tomás Chamorro's initial wealth comes from his discovery of a silver deposit. He sells his interests to the Cerro de Pasco Corporation, buys the Jarria hacienda in 1905, and begins encroaching on the lands of the Tusi community (La tumba 180). In addition, "sus siervos supieron que un patrón indio puede ser peor que un amo blanco" (180). Chamorro bribes judges and has his opponents jailed at will. He only hires young boys to work in his coal mine. By the time one character is ten years old, three of his cousins have died in the mine (99-100). In a taunting statement a generation earlier, Chamorro tells the comuneros of Tusi that they will regain their land when toads grow teeth (118). There is less bravado, however, when the comuneros begin taking over the lands of the Jarria hacienda. For days the Chamorro men have been in a drunken stupor (209). Thus, Chamorro is depicted as a ruthless exploiter of campesinos when he has the power of the government behind him, but a cowardly drunk when faced with the revenge and the power of the campesinos.

The description of the system of land tenure in the novel is extremely critical, with most landowners, corporate and individual, ruthlessly exploiting their workers and neighboring comuneros. Tomás Chamorro rises above his own class and becomes one of its worst exploiters. The Cerro de

Pasco Corporation goes beyond simple land tenure to negatively affect the campesinos of Pasco and Junín in many aspects of their economic lives. However, the landowners should not be understood as the sole abusers of the campesinos. The novel cites José Carlos Mariátegui's argument that gamonalismo encompasses much more. Included in the system are those who, in one way or another, help to support the system, including Indians who exploit other Indians (129).

Religion

As was discussed in Chapter 2, the Catholic Church has a history of close ties to gamonalismo. Two characters that represent this history are the Sacristan Saturnino and Father Morales. At the community level, the former is one of the more traditional conservative members of his community: "Era uno de los más reacios a la idea de la recuperación y en general a las iniciativas de los jóvenes. Avaro y fanático, desde la muerte de su mujer practicaba una santurronería enfermiza" (90). Father Morales is the brutal administrator of a Cuzco seminary's hacienda and cruelly exploits the workers: "El padre Morales los explotaba sin misericordia: actuaba como hacendado, vestía como hacendado, ordenaba como hacendado, implacable como hacendado" (150).

The greatest emphasis is on the compatibility between Christianity and socialism. The character Crisanto

Gutiérrez learns to read after he is forty years old. In speaking of his reading and intellectual development, he cites book after book that influence him to believe in socialism (110-11).[4] For him, Christianity and socialism are completely compatible: "las bienaventuranzas de Jesús que no son otra cosa que manifiestos del socialismo" (111). Through the character of the Seminarista, Christianity fuses with revolutionary socialism. He leaves the seminary after witnessing and denouncing abuses against its hacienda workers (150-51). On two different occasions he says that he not only reads the Bible, but also reads Marx (164) and Mao (166). There is no incompatibility between Christian faith and socialism: "El Seminarista había oído, verdaderamente, la voz de Jesucristo: 'Amaos los unos a los otros'" (150). On another occasion it is even more explicit. He decides to live with the poor and share their oppression, as did Christ and Lenin (152). The Seminarista describes himself as having evolved to being "un hombre con 'una convicción y una fe'" (164). While La tumba del relámpago denounces the traditional church's complicity with helping to preserve gamonalismo, it highlights the fusion of

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[4] He cites the following writers and books: Ciro Alegría's Los perros hambrientos, César Vallejo's Los heraldos negros and Poemas humanos, works by Dostoiewski and Balzac, Charles Dickens's Los niños abandonados, José María Arguedas's Los ríos profundos, the Quixote, and Manuel Scorza's El cantar de Agapito Robles. Other writers cited are Kropotkin, Rosa Luxemburgo, Luis E. Valcárcel and José Carlos Mariátegui (110-11).

Christianity with socialism, especially revolutionary socialism of the type practiced actively by the Seminarista.

Judicial System

The novel criticizes the judicial system as another element that usually exploits the Indian. "Entre los grandes hacendados y el Poder Judicial existe un intermediario temible: el abogado" (La tumba 63). Lawsuits last for generations. For example, the paperwork is one and a half meters high in the lawsuit between the Tusi community and Tomás Chamorro. By the time of its resolution, the community owes so much in legal fees that the lawyer ends up with the disputed land (63). Another lawyer makes a small fortune swindling people, principally through being the sole beneficiary of wills (24-26). In order to get out of jail, a campesino leader has to bribe the judge (101). The major exception to this description of the judicial system is the character Genaro Ledesma, who is a devoted advocate for the campesinos, and inverts the judicial process in their favor. The Civil Code states that while land ownership is in dispute, it considers the party possessing it to be the owner. In seizing their lost lands, the comuneros are considered the legal owners until the large landowners prove the contrary (83-84). Just as the Seminarista inverts the traditional role associated with the church, Ledesma inverts the law to serve the campesinos.

Military and Police

Scorza presents a diverse group of police and military officers. Some take great zeal in the violent repression of the campesinos, while others are reluctant or even refuse to participate. Racism, corruption and machismo all play a part in abuses and massacres of campesinos. Others reluctantly follow orders or actively disobey them.

Two principal criticisms of the police and military are of racism and corruption. The most striking example of racism occurs when prisoners notify the Republican Guard that another prisoner is suffering an asthma attack. A guard responds, "¿Te atreves a molestarme por un indio? ¡Ojalá se muera! ¡Ojalá murieran todos los indios del Perú!" (154). The case of Colonel Zapata, a police officer in Huánuco, highlights the racial differences of officers and campesinos. He is "Rechoncho, menguado, blancón, ojos azules" (20). He orders a subordinate to deal harshly with the campesinos of Huayllay, which results in a massacre (252-53). Colonel Zapata receives bribes from the Cerro de Pasco Corporation. Although he believes Genaro Ledesma is innocent, he jails him to please the Corporation (22). Appearing as a character, Scorza sharply criticizes army Colonel Marroquín Cueto for staying at the Cerro de Pasco Corporation's private hotel. Scorza argues that since there is a state of siege in Pasco, and he and the army are in charge, he should not acquire his lodging from one of the

principal participants of the dispute that he is supposed to resolve (240-41).

Two Civil Guard officers in the novel are merciless in massacring campesinos. Captain Reátegui commands a detachment that massacres Yanahuanca villagers (253).[5] He also massacres the Huayllay comuneros (256). Another police officer, Commander Bodenaco, supervises most of the evictions of lands in the central sierra. Wherever he appears, there are always deaths (230). He is "el masacrador oficial de la GC [Guardia Civil]. El famoso 'Comandante Desalojo' es pequeño, pelirrojo, cara pecosa, ojos alcoholizados" (240). In a meeting he pleads to use his own methods to end the conflict: "¡Autorízeme a usar mis medios y me comprometo a entregarle la ciudad limpia a las seis de esta tarde!" (241).

Other police officers and soldiers are reluctant participants in the prevailing system and, in some cases, are sympathetic to the campesino movements. A sergeant apologizes to Ledesma for his role in the arrest and says that he has to follow orders (20). After the character Scorza meets with military and police officials, an officer approaches him and explains that they do not enjoy quelling

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[5] Historical accounts vary on the actual number of dead and wounded in the massacre at Yanahuanca. Howard Handelman believes that there were from ten to fifteen comuneros killed and nearly fifty wounded (69). Scorza's version in Garabombo, el invisible includes thirty dead and one hundred wounded (252).

land seizures. He believes that people like Scorza represent the real Peru. He explains that they have to follow orders against their convictions. If there is violence, he wants Scorza to know that he is with the people (242). Genaro Ledesma is able to elude capture three times due to warnings of a police officer (263).

Other Civil Guard characters refuse to attack comuneros who invade hacienda lands. While Commander Lafón, the Seminarista's father, removes his troops, another commander destroys the community the next day (254-55). At the height of the land seizures, the police appear at the Pacoyán hacienda with eviction orders, but the comunero leaders convince the commander to not attack. The commander says that he is tired of battling against Peruvians and is there only because he has to obey orders. He places the blame for the orders to shoot against innocent people on higher ranking officers allied with the oligarchy. After the police and comuneros share a drink, the troops leave. The campesino leader distrusts his motives, and sentinels guard against their return (220).

While the novel describes some ruthless members of the repressive forces, primarily the police, others reluctantly follow orders from above. The exploitation and killing of campesinos are due in great part to racism, corruption, and orders. The last two reasons highlight the military and police role as intermediaries for the socioeconomic elite.

For example, both Colonel Zapata and Colonel Marroquín Cueto are beholden to the Cerro de Pasco Corporation. The former acknowledges that Ledesma is innocent, but incarcerates him to please his benefactor. The latter's staying at its hotel can compromise his actions in resolving the dispute. This is not to say that some members of the repressive forces do not enthusiastically support the elite. The brutal massacres of campesinos are ample evidence of the support of some sectors. No matter how autonomous they are in the battlefield, the orders to evict the campesinos protect the elite's interests, principally the rural oligarchy. However, some police officers and soldiers reluctantly follow orders, openly disobey them, or support the campesinos. While the police and military violently suppress the campesino uprising, the novel also points out that there is dissent within the ranks. As will be discussed later, the role of military or police service is invaluable in convincing many campesino leaders of the possibilities of radical changes in their lives.

In the description of the traditional exploiters of the Indian, Scorza emphasizes changes in certain sectors of the traditionally exploitative system. This lends credence to his thesis that conditions are appropriate for a successful revolutionary movement. While the prevailing system continues to ruthlessly exploit the Indians, some religious, legal, military, and police authorities oppose the system

they are serving. These changes in the exploitative system could increase the probability for a successful revolution. However, a weakness in this argument is that most of these dissident sectors opted for reformist parties instead of revolution after the campesino uprisings. More important to Scorza's argument are the increased political awareness of the campesino class and sectors of the left.

Campesinos

One of the principal theses of La tumba del relámpago is the increasing ability of campesinos to, at least partially, overcome previous limitations of past uprisings. In the novel Genaro Ledesma is apprehensive about the possibilities of success due to strengths that are also weaknesses:

> En todas partes era igual: los campesinos defendían sus intereses o los de su comunidad pero, raras veces, los de su clase. La tragedia de las luchas campesinas es la lucha aislada. La comunidad, creación genial de la sociedad india, le permitió atravesar cuatrocientos años de genocidio. Pero la comunidad protege a sus miembros: no defiende a los otros campesinos, a su clase. (74)

In addition to an embryonic class consciousness, the novel maintains that another problem is the reliance on a mythical understanding of the world. In spite of serious problems in the uprisings, Scorza describes major strides in unifying the campesinos and their gaining more of a revolutionary and class consciousness.

One obstacle is the conflicting needs and desires of campesinos, which is most noticeable in contrasting colonos and comuneros. Colonos were tied to the hacienda system and isolated from the outside world. Within the hacienda they would exchange free labor for small plots of land, ceding much of the control over their lives to the landowner. By the middle part of this century, the number of colonos is estimated to have been less than 20% of sierra campesinos. Comuneros were much more independent. They lived in self-governing communities where all properties were communally owned, while individuals were able to use their plots of land as they saw fit. They were more integrated into modern society and elected a personero to represent the community in the outside world (Handelman 26-29). While colonos wanted to establish unions to fight for increased salaries and reductions in, or the elimination of, free labor owed to the landowner, the comuneros wanted to reclaim lands appropriated by haciendas (Cotler and Portocarrero, Organizaciones campesinas 20). At times these aspirations would clash. Handelman cites a conflict over a Junín hacienda. Tenants bought land from their former landowner, but two neighboring communities argued that the sale was invalid because they had the legal title. Upon entering the hacienda with a court order supporting their claim, two comuneros were killed. Basic conflicts like this hindered the unification of colonos and comuneros (96-99).

When the comuneros in the novel begin the land seizures, they encounter both opposition and support from the colonos. Fearing betrayal, the comuneros remove the colonos from their villages and take their place. They justify this because of the relative backwardness of the colonos: "Los siervos son gente podrida en la esclavitud y se colocan, a veces, del lado de sus patrones. No podemos confiar en ellos. El único modo de estar seguros es reemplazarlos por tusinos" (179). However, the eviction will be temporary and the colonos will be provided with housing and land (179). Many colonos do not appear to understand or be enthusiastic when they are told that they are free and will own their own land (185). This lack of comprehension is underscored when the colonos are unable to join the comuneros in singing the national anthem because they do not know it (196). In spite of their relative lack of development, several colonos do join with the comuneros.

One of the principal arguments in La tumba del relámpago is that the heightened political awareness of the comuneros, achieved primarily through contacts outside of the community structure, made the possibility of a successful revolutionary movement more likely. According to Howard Handelman, Pasco's population was among the most socioeconomically advanced in the sierra in the early 1960s. While 60% of the population primarily spoke Quechua, 90% could also speak Spanish. This is in stark contrast to the

departments of Apurímac and Ayacucho, where only 30-35% spoke Spanish. The literacy rate in Pasco was 52%, compared to 23% in Apurímac and 27% in Ayacucho. Most of Pasco's residents also had greater contact with the urban sector than southern campesinos (64-65). The Junín population was similar to that of Pasco. Quechua was the primary language of about half of the adults, but over 90% spoke Spanish. At 61%, the adult literacy rate was the highest of any sierra department (87-88). In an interview published in 1980, Scorza argues that by 1960 the campesino class had become proletarianized. He also notes that the campesinos formed the nucleus of the FOCEP, (Frente de Campesinos y Obreros del Perú). Founded by the real-life Genaro Ledesma, it received 15% of the vote in the 1978 Constituent Assembly elections (Tizón 60-61). He adds that the FOCEP "es el primer movimiento del Perú que viene del fondo andino, de la marginalización, e influye nacionalmente" (61). Although these statements are true, he neglects to mention the influence of votes for the Trotskyist Hugo Blanco. Without an alliance with Blanco, the FOCEP received fewer votes in 1980.[6] However, Ledesma was and is an important figure on

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[6] The FOCEP joined with the Trotskyists for the Constituent Assembly elections (Rojas Samanez 152). The FOCEP received the third highest vote total for a party, behind the APRA and the Popular Christian Party (PPC). However, the Trotskyist Hugo Blanco received some 66% of the votes cast for the FOCEP, while Ledesma received 76,377 votes, or around 18% of the total FOCEP vote. In the 1980 presidential elections Hugo Blanco ran with the Partido Revolucionario de los Trabajadores (PRT). Three parties from the left placed in

the Peruvian political stage. Even though the FOCEP has not been a major force in elections, this does not necessarily take away from Scorza's assertion that there has been a process of proletarianization, however limited, of the campesino.

The paths toward a heightened political consciousness of campesinos in the novel are varied, but most involve some sort of learning experience outside the community. Crisanto Gutiérrez learns to read after he is forty years old, and he argues that the poor will find clarity in books (111). Jail is a type of university for rebels: "Pero en Pasco, como en todo el Perú, la cárcel es la universidad donde los rebeldes conocen otros rebeldes. Allí aprenden, dolorosamente, la lucidez" (136). Through his service in the Civil Guard, Saturnino Inocente says he has learned more about Peru and how the system works (65). Hermógenes Farruso's experiences in the military barracks in Lima teach him about his rights: "Farruso había regresado con palabras nuevas: 'la tierra debe ser de quienes la trabajan'" (118-19). While living in the town of Mosca, Visitación Maximiliano witnesses its successful land seizure. That experience and his military experience thrust him into a prominent role in organizing the invasion of the Paria hacienda (167-69).

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fourth through sixth place. Blanco was in fourth, the United Left (IU) in fifth, and Ledesma in sixth, with 60,853 votes (Rojas Samanez 210-27).

Conclusions drawn from these learning experiences lead many campesino leaders to decide that their only recourse is to resort to violence. After being a servant in Lima for a congressman during the Odría era, Vidal Salas, Yarusyacán's personero, is very critical of the corrupt Peruvian system (57).

> Así me di cuenta que el Perú es propiedad de un puñado de hijos de puta que nos mantienen a todos con la cabeza en la mierda, mientras ellos se banquetean a todos y se cagan de risa de los que trabajamos. ¡Yo no creo en políticos ni en discursos ni en reclamos! ¡Esas cosas son para los cojudos! (58)

He tells Genaro Ledesma that the comuneros no longer need a lawyer. Rather, they need a leader who will use legal maneuvers to buy them time to prepare to fight and will help lead them in the battle for their land. Above all, they need arms (57). Drawing on his military experience, Policarpo Cabello founds the Communal Army and becomes its leader. He views power as a series of chains to be broken:

> El poder es una cadena, doctor. La policía está encadenada con el Subprefecto; el Subprefecto está encadenado con el Prefecto; el Prefecto está encadenado con el Presidente de la República. Esta cadena sólo se quebrará cuando un campesino instale su trono en el Palacio de Gobierno. (131)

Months before the invasions, Exaltación Travesaño, the new personero of Yanahuanca, tells Genaro Ledesma that he and the other personeros of Pasco have decided to rise up again and are ready to shed blood. (77). He also wants to raise the consciousness of others: "El gobierno cree que masacrándonos nos asusta. Ignora que nosotros quisiéramos

otra matanza para acabar definitivamente con la ceguera de los que creen que en el Perú se puede alcanzar justicia por las buenas" (77). Owing in part to the influence of experiences outside the community, the campesino leaders conclude that they have to resort to violence to regain their land.

In planning and implementing the land invasions, campesino leaders must overcome limitations of previous uprisings such as long-standing conflicts between communities and a mythical conception of the world. It is young comuneros, who have lived in cities or worked in the mines, who convince two communities to put aside past differences and conflicts and to unite in the land seizures (89). Dissuading their compatriots from believing in myths is also extremely important. Shortly before attacking the main house of the Jarria hacienda, one of the comuneros remembers Tomás Chamorro's taunting prediction that toads will grow teeth before they get their land back. Before continuing, he wants to examine them. Hermógenes Farruso tells him that it is not important. What does matter is that they are attacking. Colonos are shaking off their bonds of slavery to join the struggle. They need anger, not superstitions (208). The most important moment in the novel regarding myths is when Remigio Villena finds Doña Añada's tower and burns it to the ground. Doña Añada weaves ponchos that describe the future. After having spent many hours

studying the ponchos and attempting to decipher the future, Villena destroys the tower and the ponchos. He believes that it is more important for the campesinos to create their own future rather than to rely on the weavings of a blind woman:

> ¡Nuestra empresa sólo depende de nuestro coraje! ¡Nadie decidirá más por nosotros! ¡Existimos! ¡Somos hombres, no sombras tejidas por una sombra! ¡Mi cuerpo y mi sombra me seguirán adonde los lleve mi valor o mi cobardía! ¡Nos calienta un verdadero sol! ¡Nos enfría una nieve verdadera! ¡Estamos vivos! (202)

Scorza describes many campesinos as having overcome many of the limitations of previous uprisings. While the repressive forces quell the uprising, there are many examples of campesinos achieving a heightened political consciousness. Colonos and comuneros find common ground and work together. Longstanding enmities between communities are ameliorated for the goal of regaining lost land. The leadership and most decisions occur within campesino governmental structures. This indicates a high level of autonomy and also the ability to organize a movement. Leaders are usually those who have had some contact outside the community. As is the case of some sectors of the traditional exploiters of the campesino coming to oppose the system, many campesinos and their leaders conclude that violence is the only way to change their fate.

Criticism of Leftist Parties and Organizations

In La tumba del relámpago there is severe criticism of political parties, especially those traditionally associated with the left. In one section Ledesma succinctly comments on their lack of support: "Desgraciadamente los políticos brillan por su ausencia" (164). The APRA offers no support and Marxist groups and parties are locked into a strict interpretation of orthodox Marxism, and do not consider, as did Mariátegui, the role of the campesinos.

The APRA was a very strong party in Pasco. Prior to 1980, the two times that the party participated in presidential elections not nullified by a military coup, the percentage of the APRA vote in Pasco was 76.63% in 1931 and 52.66% in 1963. In 1931 the vote was the largest percentage for the APRA in any department, while in 1963 it was the fourth largest total (North 175). When the government appointed Genaro Ledesma mayor of Cerro de Pasco, he was officially an aprista (Handelman 137). He later left the party, founded the FOCEP in 1963 and was elected to represent Pasco in Congress while in jail. In 1954 Scorza left the APRA, publishing an open letter with the title of "Good-bye, Mister Haya" (Aldaz 19).

While the APRA has political hegemony in Pasco, the novel attacks it for not helping the campesinos. Some party members support the seizures and state that they are more loyal to their region than to their party (57 and 237). The

narrator comments that the party never supports land seizures: "el Partido Aprista nunca había aprobado las recuperaciones de tierras de los campesinos. En una oportunidad La Tribuna, diario oficial del APRA, se pronunció a favor de los grandes propietarios: los comuneros nunca lo olvidaron" (57).

The Communist party offers only minimal support to the campesino uprisings, and argues that the working class must be in the vanguard and that campesino movements lack a revolutionary consciousness. The real-life Jorge del Prado has been the Secretary General of the Peruvian Communist party for decades. The novel severely criticizes the character based on him for adhering to a strict interpretation of orthodox Marxist theories. The following fictional version of a possible conversation between Genaro Ledesma and Jorge del Prado illustrates Scorza's depiction of their ideological stances regarding the revolutionary vanguard:

> --Toda posible acción tendría que supeditarse a la conducción de la clase obrera.
> --En Cerro de Pasco la clase obrera no está a la cabeza de la lucha, sino el campesinado.
> --Para que nosotros consideremos cualquier posibilidad de apoyo, se necesitaría que el sector campesino se subordinara a la clase obrera. La directiva de cada comunidad debe aceptar el control de una comisión obrera.
> --Eso es extremadamente difícil, camarada. Los campesinos de Pasco obedecen únicamente a los campesinos de Pasco. Nosotros respetamos su jerarquía tradicional. Por eso nos escuchan. En este caso, creo, la teoría debe nacer de la práctica. Hay que modificar la teoría. En la Sierra Central el campesinado no solicita la

> primacía en la lucha: la tiene. ¡Y la paga, cada año, con centenares de muertos!
>
> --Es verdad. Pero no negará usted que la clase campesina, que ha dado tantos ejemplos de heroísmo, carece de una verdadera conciencia revolucionaria para llegar hasta el final. La vanguardia de la revolución es el proletariado.
>
> "¿Qué hago aquí", se preguntó Ledesma. El camarada Del Prado repetía, casi parecía que leía, un manual de marxismo, la teoría y táctica de los bolcheviques preparándose a asaltar el Palacio de Invierno. (234)

Saturnino Paredes is another high-ranking member of the Communist party who appears as a character in the novel. In real life he was the secretary of the Confederación Campesina and later led the Maoist faction of the Communist party after the Sino-Soviet split. In the novel Paredes's interpretation is the same as that of the fictional version of Jorge del Prado:

> la revolución es la consecuencia del encuentro entre las condiciones objetivas y las condiciones subjetivas. El motor de la historia es la lucha de clases. La vanguardia de la revolución es la clase obrera. La clase campesina nunca sobrepasa el reformismo. El resto es aventurerismo. (150)

The Seminarista criticizes Saturnino Paredes for not dealing with the realities of Peru and the revolutionary potential of the campesinos, and merely parroting Lenin's speeches from February of 1917 (150). In addition, he condemns Paredes for sectarian activities. He orders the Seminarista to distribute leaflets accusing Hugo Blanco, a Trotskyist, of being a provocateur (153). The Seminarista's reaction is one of incredulity: "El organizador del más poderoso movimiento campesino del Cusco, ¿provocador?" (153).

The criticism of the Trotskyists also lies in their failure to adapt their ideology to meet the realities of Peru. When Ledesma reads an article in a Trotskyist newspaper about Pasco campesinos, he concurs with their view on the importance of campesino agitation. However, he realizes that the article is essentially a proclamation by Trotsky in St. Petersburg in 1917: "El único aporte era que en lugar de 'mujiks' escribían 'comuneros'" (127).

The novel depicts the MIR (Movimiento de Izquierda Revolucionaria) as opportunistic, sectarian, and desiring to control any movement it aids. The MIR's abortive attempt at guerrilla warfare lasted for about six months in 1965 and 1966. In one episode Ricardo goes to a prison to speak with Luis, one of the principal leaders of the MIR in the novel. Ricardo tells him that there are 100,000 campesinos ready to fight, but they lack cadres and arms (250). Luis's answer is telling in uttering the word "control" three times: "No controlamos ni podemos controlar el movimiento campesino de Pasco. El control lo tiene Genaro Ledesma, que se apoya en cualquiera que lo auxilie" (250). Like the character Saturnino Paredes, Luis argues that the objective conditions do not coincide with the subjective conditions. He says that it must run its course, because they can not control it. It is better to wait a year, when the government will offer an amnesty for the elections (251). His obvious

desire to be the leader is striking: "Yo saldré para ponerme al frente. Entonces será el momento" (251).

In conclusion, the novel is a scathing indictment of the political parties of the left for their misconceptions of the Peruvian historical realities, their adherence to orthodox forms of Marxism, and their lack of support of the uprisings. Their ideological justifications come from 1917 Russia, speeches by Lenin and Trotsky, and Marxist manuals. Both Saturnino Paredes and Luis argue that the objective conditions do not coincide with the subjective conditions. The latter cynically adds that the conditions will be right when he can lead the movement. Even promises of propagandistic support fall short. The lack of support of the leftist parties and organizations helps doom the uprising.

The Nucleus of a New Revolutionary Left

In the novel non campesino leaders associated with the uprising represent a hodgepodge of groups and ideologies. In an unfortunate choice of words, Ledesma compares himself to Columbus and his willingness to accept help from anyone: "Yo, como Colón, me embarco con los que me siguen" (243).[7]

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[7] Roland Forgues argues that this statement, among others, is indicative of Scorza's and, by extension, Ledesma's distance from an indigenous ideological framework. He also adds that the choice of Columbus is ironic in that he was the one who initiated the process of the subjugation of the campesino (140).

In the department of Huánuco, Maoists and Trotskyists aid the uprisings (243). The Bible, Marx, and Mao (164-66) are ideological influences for the Seminarista, while Elías Tacunán, one of leaders of the Movimiento Comunal del Perú, speaks of the Cuban Revolution and Havana Radio (166). Also playing a significant role in the novel are the Movimiento Comunal del Perú, Ledesma, and Scorza.

Elías Tacunán, a group of university professors and former apristas found the Movimiento Comunal del Perú, which considers itself at the vanguard (La tumba 153). They blame the deceit of the political parties for the state of moral and material misery in Peru (192). They argue that instead of comuneros invading lands, they are the victims of invasions by the large landowners (174). They advocate nationalizing lands owned by foreign companies and returning them to the communities (191-92). The Movement also urges workers and students to join the comuneros and campesinos in the vanguard (176).

As José Carlos Mariátegui adapted European Marxist theories to correspond to the particularities of Peru, in the novel Genaro Ledesma attempts to go beyond parroting orthodox Marxism, and bases many of his ideas on Mariátegui's thought. Ledesma argues that the campesinos, not the proletariat, are the revolutionary vanguard in Peru:

> El proletariado es la vanguardia de la revolución. Olvida tus manuales, Seminarista. Aquí todo es diferente. Aquí la vanguardia es el campesinado. Nuestras teorías revolucionarias fueron pensadas

> siempre en otros continentes. Vivimos a crédito, explotando el trabajo de los intelectuales europeos. ¿Y qué pasa? Lo que en Europa es blanco, aquí es negro. (226)

He argues that the revolutionary theories come from the process of the struggle: "La lucha modifica las ideas, los esquemas, las teorías aprendidas en la ciudad" (243). In his fictional interview with Jorge del Prado, the Secretary General of the Communist party, Ledesma insists that the conditions are favorable for the beginning of the armed struggle: "No creo que en el Perú se hayan presentado, nunca antes, condiciones tan favorables para una lucha armada" (234). He believes that with the example of the Cuban Revolution and wars of liberation in the Third World, there are new options available. The key is to unify the indigenous communities (78).

Although there are some minor differences between Ledesma and Scorza, on the whole, they concur. Roland Forgues argues that they are representatives of theory and praxis in conflict: "me parece que Scorza y Ledesma representan en el relato dos figuras que encarnan la reunión de las dos caras constitutivas de todo proceso revolucionario: la teoría y la praxis" (La estrategia mítica 126). While Ledesma, Scorza and the Seminarista discuss their plans, either the Seminarista or Scorza argues that the campesinos need political direction to go beyond a few initial victories (238). Ledesma rejects this suggestion and places more faith in the abilities of the campesinos:

> ¿Hasta cuándo tendremos la pretensión de enseñarle lo que no sabemos a los sobrevivientes de una cultura que ha atravesado cuatrocientos años de genocidio? Para sobrevivir en esas condiciones se requería genio.... Este pueblo sabe. ¡No necesita consejos! Nuestro único papel es canalizar su violencia. (238)

On another occasion Ledesma and Scorza debate whether they should recommend that the campesinos dynamite abandoned mines beneath the camp of some troops. Scorza advocates doing it. He argues that he is not only thinking of a revolution, but also of the rebirth of a people paralyzed for more than 400 years. In spite of the odds, he urges Ledesma to believe in the masses (256-57). Ledesma replies that he believes in the masses, but they lack the components for a successful revolution. The main result would be bloodshed: "En este momento, sólo conseguiríamos acrecentar la mortandad. Los partidos que debían apoyarnos, nos han abandonado. ¡No tenemos cuadros, no tenemos armas, no tenemos medios, no tenemos nada!" (257). Ledesma's overriding goal is to survive to take power later: "No se trata de matar ni de morir. Se trata de vivir para tomar el poder" (257).

The overriding theme of the new revolutionary left is their belief in the campesino, not the proletariate, as the revolutionary vanguard. Supporters of the uprising come from diverse ideological backgrounds and represent fragments of the major movements of the Peruvian left. However, they are severely hindered by the lack of support of the

organized leftist parties and organizations. The key to this conglomeration of diverse revolutionary leaders is that they place their faith in the revolutionary potential of the campesino and not in the proletariate. It is in this direction that Scorza hopes that ideologues will work to create an appropriate revolutionary strategy that will more closely accommodate western and indigenous ideologies.

Conclusions

There are varying criticisms and interpretations of the ideology in La tumba del relámpago. In a highly creative interpretation, Luisa Pranzetti contends that Scorza denounces previous theories. She says that the targets include González Prada, indigenista literature, and Mariátegui ("Elegía y rebelión en los cantares de Manuel Scorza" 119). Roland Forgues attacks Scorza for the opposite reason. He asserts that Scorza's works lack ideological coherence and embrace too many ideas:

> En última instancia creo que sería vana la tentativa de deslindar el verdadero perfil ideológico de Manuel Scorza por la pura y sencilla razón de que, aun cuando el novelista ambiciona reclamarse del socialismo de José Carlos Mariátegui, lo que puede aparecer como su ideario político no es más que un conglomerado de ideas sacadas tanto de Mariátegui como de Haya de la Torre o de Manuel González Prada a las que vienen a agregarse ciertos aportes de Mao. Tal vez sea en esa incapacidad del escritor para ceñirse a una ideología coherente donde se deba buscar el origen de las contradicciones y de las ambigüedades de su crítica al orden vigente. (La estrategia mítica 141)

Instead of interpreting the multiplicity of ideological influences as a weakness, Jesús Díaz Caballero claims that not championing one specific tendency of the Peruvian left is a strong point. For him, the objectivity of the narrator allows the reader to reflect on Peru's future (253).

While it is debateable that the novel needs to provide a specific revolutionary strategy, or if, indeed, that was Scorza's goal, the theorists mentioned by Forgues have had and continue to have influence on the political and literary debate about the campesino. Just to cite a few examples discussed in Chapter 2, there was influence by González Prada on Clorinda Matto de Turner, Haya de la Torre on Ciro Alegría, and Mariátegui on José María Arguedas. Maoist influence is a fundamental element in the ideology of Sendero Luminoso. Furthermore, Haya de la Torre never appears by name in La tumba del relámpago. However, in his interview with Héctor Tizón, Scorza praises the origins of the APRA as an effort to elaborate ideas based in Latin American historical realities. While he condemns the APRA's later collaboration with United States imperialism, he says that the early thought of Haya de la Torre deserves reexamination (63). Thus, the four thinkers mentioned by Forgues all have in common an effort to develop an ideology that does not mimic European thought and relates to a non European context. This is one of the central points of the

novel. Scorza criticizes parroting European Marxist theories that have little to do with Peruvian reality.

In La tumba del relámpago Manuel Scorza interprets the campesino uprisings of the late 1950s and early 1960s with an eye toward the future. A similar analysis can be found in Héctor Béjar Rivera's Perú 1965: apuntes sobre una experiencia guerrillera. He recognizes that there was a large gulf between many of the revolutionaries and the campesinos. The former attempted to impose alien ideologies on the latter and had difficulty adapting themselves to their language, customs, and daily life (144-49). Béjar concludes that a successful guerrilla movement in Peru must find a way to bridge the gap between western revolutionary theories and indigenous beliefs, customs, and aspirations: "En resumen podemos decir que la guerrilla debe actuar y trabajar no sólo por los objetivos lejanos de la Revolución sino por los cercanos de los campesinos; y no sólo para los campesinos, sino con ellos" (149). As was quoted earlier from Antonio Cornejo Polar, the essence of the novel is the need to overcome the limitations of mythical thought and to develop a revolutionary theory that takes the campesinos into account and works with their desires and needs.

Hildebrando Pérez Huarancca

Life and Critical Reception

Hildebrando Pérez Huarancca was born in the community of Espite, Ayacucho in 1946. He studied in Ayacucho and Lima, and was a professor of language and literature in the Universidad Nacional San Cristóbal de Huamanga, and the Universidad Nacional Enrique Guzmán y Valle, also known as La Cantuta. He belonged to the group affiliated with the journal Narración, which published three issues in 1966, 1971, and 1974. Ricardo González Vigil says that the group promoted popular narrative from a Marxist-Leninist perspective, and that it was "una opción ideológica a favor de las luchas de masas explotadas y el afán de nutrir la ficción narrativa del modo más pleno e inmediato con la realidad social, particularmente con su dinamismo dialéctico" ("La narrativa peruana después de 1950" 243). With Los Ilegítimos, his book of short stories, Pérez Huarancca won first prize in the 1975 José María Arguedas literary contest, organized by the Asociación Universitaria Nisei del Perú. The book was not published until 1980 (Escajadillo, "Hildebrando Pérez Huarancca" 86). Both critics place Pérez Huarancca within the indigenista tradition (Escajadillo 85 and González Vigil 236).

In early 1982 the government accused Pérez Huarancca of belonging to Sendero Luminoso and jailed him in Ayacucho.

On March 3, 1982 Sendero Luminoso attacked the jail and freed him and other prisoners. Escajadillo says that there are rumors that he is in France, but he believes that he may have died in a battle with the repressive forces of the state (87). On August 18, 1983 the Minister of the Interior, Luis Pércovich Roca, announced that the principal ideologues of Sendero Luminoso were Abimael Guzmán, Luis Kawata, Osmán Morote, Hildebrando Pérez, and Antonio Díaz Martínez (Rojas Samanez 289).

In analyzing Pérez Huarancca's work, Escajadillo places the book within the neoindigenista tradition. Essentially, "Pérez Huarancca=Vargas Vicuña+protesta social" ("Hildebrando Pérez Huarancca" 87). The social criticism is against a broader spectrum than that found in what Escajadillo calls orthodox indigenismo:

> es toda la estructura social la que fuerza a los jóvenes a emigrar de sus pueblos natales. Ya no es el gamonal el que los corre...ahora es la sociedad en su conjunto la que produce seres ilegítimos. El gobierno central por su absoluta indiferencia frente a la extrema pobreza del entorno rural, su falta de asistencia en tiempos de sequía y hambruna; y los gobiernos y mandones locales, los vecinos del indio que hacen el papel de la parte más visible y ostensible de los agentes de la explotación. (89)

Escajadillo says that Pérez Huarancca directs his criticism against society, the social structure, and the system in its totality (90). He cites José María Iztueta's similar argument that the "explotadores son de un nuevo cuño...más 'modernos', más sofisticados, más lejanos pero no menos

implacables. En primer lugar, y como un continuo trasfondo, el sistema" (90). The analysis of Los ilegítimos centers on three themes: the criticism of the system that exploits the campesino, their resistance to the system, and the narrative vision of the future.

Criticism of the System

In Los ilegítimos criticism of the system is both on a local and global level. The character Augusto Ayala attacks the composition of authorities at the local level and argues that their elimination is the only path toward progress:

> Carajo, estos mal paridos de mierda joden a cualquiera cuando ven que uno no está con ellos, valiéndose de su dinero. Son cuatro cojudos que pisotean, nombrándose autoridades entre ellos, a todo un pueblo; y cuando alguien reclama se valen de sus padrastros los cachacos, para mandarlo a uno a la chirona. Aquí todo queda en casa como dicen: ellos son las autoridades; sus hijas, maestras; y el cura es también de la misma camada aunque no es del lugar. En sus reuniones hasta hablan de progreso. Carajo, cuando sólo a estos mismos fulanos se les elimine desde la raíz de sus puterías llegará el progreso a este lugar y no por obra de estos mismos cojudos. (47)

Ayala describes a system that completely dominates the village. The rich control the local government, their daughters are in charge of educating the populace, and the priest is allied with them. If there is resistance to the system, the repressive forces suppress it. On his deathbed after the police have tortured him, Pascual Gutiérrez speaks of the oppression in international terms:

> No gasten en los muertos lo poco que les queda para mantener el juicio. Pleitamos contra una tropa de gamonales, Miguel. Nunca se olviden de eso. Cuando acá los barramos, se levantarán los adinerados del mundo entero para defenderlos. Entonces necesitamos mucha paciencia y bastante dinero, Miguel. (66)

This idea that overthrowing the system will require much time appears in various short stories.

The atmosphere of many of the short stories is of a bleak world where the poverty is overwhelming and the poor struggle for a scanty existence. The government, at best, is indifferent to their plight. While a drought ruins two harvests, the government answers pleas for help with silence and the people only have enough food to eat once a day (57). The economic elite is quick to take advantage of the drought. Within a year they build five bakeries: "Los señores principales, dedicados antes a negocios grandes o a ocupar cargos públicos, se convirtieron en panificadores. Descubrieron una nueva mina: nuestro hambre" (56). The poverty and degradation reach an extreme in "Cuando eso dicen." It also underlines the dignity of the campesinos. A man offers to buy a boy and his mother briefly considers it. Although they are hungry at times, they insist on working and refuse to ask for charity: "pedir limosna también no nos gusta aunque no tenemos qué comer. Dice ella que eso hacen los ociosos o los ancianos que ya no pueden trabajar" (53).

The scarcity of cultivatable land is in sharp contrast with the past, when the land belongs to everyone and private ownership is restricted to animals and the plot of land where houses are. This situation changes drastically when outsiders arrive in the region and, little by little, end up being the owners of most of the land (62-63). The result is that the campesinos become outsiders in the land that has belonged to them for generations (61).

Due to the lack of good land, most of the young abandon the villages, leaving behind only the old and very young. One character explains that everyone in the village is over sixty years old. The young are in the cities looking for jobs. One result of the migration is that when the young return to the village, they describe different realities in other areas and inspire everyone to continue struggling (18). It also creates more rancor because of their exploitation: "los disgustos hacia los principales renacen, se multiplican" (18). When those that leave can no longer find jobs elsewhere, they return to cultivate a small piece of land and to eke out a living. Then, their children leave, as have their parents and grandparents. An example of the stagnant, oppressive atmosphere is when, forced to flee because of a drought, young villagers return after four years and find no changes (58).

In theory, land reforms are an improvement, but the reality is that even occupying lands assigned to them during

the land redistribution leads to problems. Pascual Gutiérrez is especially incensed at the authorities' suggestion that they can buy or rent their own land: "Caray, arrendar o comprar nuestra propia tierra. ¡Nosotros! A ellos a quienes nos habían quitado todo, valiéndose de nuestra ignorancia" (63). For some, the only viable options are to remain in their villages and to live like serfs, or to occupy the land assigned to them during the land reform (63). One group of villagers opts for the second option. Tired of being exploited, their goal is to live a tranquil life away from the usurpers of their lands (60). During the land distribution the authorities reserve the best acreage for themselves. The land that the group settles does not have water for irrigation, probably the principal reason that it is available. After much work, they construct enough wells for the area to flourish (64-65). It is after making the land productive that they begin to have problems with the authorities and villagers are killed.

"Pascual Gutiérrez ha muerto" describes a high level of skepticism toward religion and the trappings of the church. When the priest goes to the new village to ask them to build a chapel, Pascual Gutiérrez replies that they do not need it nor priests. Pressured to build a chapel, they construct it five kilometers from the village. Their justification to the priest for the distance from the town is that they are very poor and will be unable to honor their saint

sufficiently. Passersby abound on the road and the saint will be better off (60-61).

Different standards according to one's socioeconomic status is another criticism, specifically regarding women who give birth out of wedlock. In "Somos de Chukara" the priest excommunicates a poor woman for having an illegitimate child. He blames the almost daily hail storms that afflict the town on women like her (20-21). In "La leva" the daughter of a principal figure in the town receives much different treatment. While she is in school, the teacher does not punish her for infractions because of her father's position. After having a child out of wedlock, unlike the other woman, she is much more accepted in the society and becomes a teacher, as other daughters of important figures have in the past (42-43).

The description is of an area of oppressive poverty where the campesinos struggle to survive, but the system thwarts their best efforts. There is no government aid to weather the effects of the drought. Land reform leaves the campesinos with the worst land. When they manage to make it productive, the authorities attempt to intimidate them into leaving the land. When that fails, they torture and kill campesino leaders. There are two levels of justice. One is for the poor and the other for the rich. Those who remain are the old and the very young.

Resistance to the System

Those who defy the system suffer harshly at its hands. In "La leva" a school boy caught with an important public official's daughter is conscripted into the army the next day (43). "Ya nos iremos, Señor" tells the story of how the government ruins Augusto Ayala's life through a false accusation and his subsequent jailing. Prior to his incarceration, Ayala leads a happy life. In spite of his insistence on his innocence, he spends five years in jail for allegedly partially castrating the idiot Lorenzo Fernández (46-47). When someone cuts off Fernández's other testicle, the lieutenant governor tells his relatives, "Carajo, eso de la primera vez fue porque lo dejaron con uno solo. Ahora que ya lo completaron debes tener por bien, puesto que caminará sin ladearse" (48). The narrator denounces the abuses of the government against Ayala as a pure farce of justice: "el cuento de Lorenzo Fernández sólo ha sido un puro decir de parte de los principales de pueblo para mandarlo a la sombra" (47). Jail drastically changes him and he begins to drink and to beat his wife and children (47). Although he continues to denounce the authorities, no one pays him any heed: "Pero allí, nadie le hacía caso; tampoco le decían nada. Ya no tenían qué perder con dejarlo hablar a su gusto. ¡Ya lo habían jodido al hombre!" (48). The last indignities surround his death. His family can not move his body for four days because the judge will not give

the order. The principal reason behind the delay is to earn more money (46-48). Five days after dying, the judge finally allows his family to remove the body. The final indignity is the judge's order that an autopsy be performed: "lo descuartizaron como si fuera un carnero, ya apestando y con algunas hormigas blancas en los orificios principales del cuerpo, al pie del cedro del centro de la plaza" (48).

Others who defy the authorities end up losing their lives. Marcelino Medina refuses to cede his land to the authorities for the construction of a jail. The authorities say that his suspicious death is due to a stomach ache and refuse to give any further explanations. Medina's eldest son returns to kill his younger brother so that the authorities can finally gain control of the land. Government forces kill Florentino Ramos and others as they participate in a protest march (28-33). In "Pascual Gutiérrez ha muerto" four members of the community die after the police torture them in jail (59-67).

The police brutally attack and torture defenseless people. In "Día de mucho trajín" more than a thousand secondary students protest a decree by the Velasco Alvarado government that restricts access to free education. The students assume that by putting women students at the front of the group the police (sinchis) will be more reluctant to use force. Although the students have no weapons, the

police use teargas and open fire (73-74). The description of police torture is the following:

> Te ocultarán de tus familiares. Querrán amansarte inculcándote buenos modales, y cuando ya no pueden arrancarte lo que desean de ti, te golpearán secretamente en las partes más vitales de tu indefenso cuerpo. Esos burdéganos aún tendrán la suficiente inteligencia para darse cuenta de tu superioridad moral y del desprecio que por ellos sientes. (70)

In "Pascual Gutiérrez ha muerto" the police brutally beat four campesinos, each receiving fifty lashes. All four die after the police release them from jail (59-67).

At times, the stories equate the treatment of campesinos with that of animals. In "Mientras dormía se contaban" the government shoots the protestors like dogs: "acallaron a hombres y mujeres y niños balaceándolos sin más por qué como a perros del mal" (33). In "Ya nos iremos, Señor," the destruction and dehumanization of Augusto Ayala due to his unjust imprisonment is represented in his death by condors circling his body. When the narrator tells his mother about the condors, she replies, "sólo bajaban de los cerros altos al sentir la muerte de algún animal del gusto de ellos" (46). Later, in the autopsy, the authorities treat his body like an animal: "lo descuartizaron como si fuera un carnero, ya apestando y con algunas hormigas blancas en los orificios principales del cuerpo, al pie del cedro del centro de la plaza" (48).

Those that defy the authorities and the system pay a high price. Sometimes it is physical removal, such as

conscription or jail. Others are tortured, treated like animals, and killed.

The Future

Pérez Huarancca paints an optimistic picture of the future of the campesino. Although the government kills Marcelino Medina, he leaves a heritage of rage in the people of the village (28). Children will take up their parents' struggle. In "Mientras dormía se contaban" the grandmother argues that Ignacio will continue in his father's footsteps: "los hijos responden por sus padres en tiempos como éste...el padre fue muerto pero Ignacio lleva la sangre de Florentino Ramos...él responderá Josefa" (33).

The poor must confide in each other and struggle against their oppressors, whom they can never trust. In "La tierra que dejamos está muy abajo" Alejandro is a veteran of many forced trips from the village for economic reasons. He counsels his friend that the poor need to unite to survive against their oppressors:

> Siempre hay que vivir en grupos. Juntarse con los paisanos que trabajan en las minas o las fábricas enseña bastante. No importa de dónde sean. Ellos son pobres como nosotros pero están bien enterados de las cosas que suceden y saben de cómo hacerse respetar. No te confíes, muchacho. Es igual con los mandones en cualquier parte. Siempre están buscando cómo agarrarlo desprevenido al pobre. Sin embargo, tiemblan viéndote en grupo. Por eso hay que estar unidos, como paridos por una sola madre. (38)

Pascual Gutiérrez also says that the campesinos should not believe in anyone except the poor. He argues that the authorities will never be friends of the poor and are simple lackeys for the government and out for themselves (66).

In confronting their oppressors, the poor have to realize that they are participating in a long process where a single life has less importance than the welfare of the people's struggle as a whole: "La vida, larga o corta, no es de uno solamente; y perderla tampoco es para lamentarse, si se tiene conciencia de su razón" (70). If one person dies, there are others who will continue the struggle. Throughout history there has never been the complete extermination of a people (70). The struggle will ultimately be successful:

> Por algo eres del sector de los seres templados en el dolor y en la miseria. Por tanto estás obligado a resistir hasta el final. Piensa sobre todo en eso. Lo que ahora ocurre contigo sólo es un simple tropiezo. El camino por recorrer es largo para los pobres. Y cuando se triunfe, Rudecindo Contreras, todo esto tal vez sea una pequeña historia que parezca cuento, anidando en las sombras del recuerdo. (73)

Pérez Huarancca's short stories describe an overwhelmingly pessimistic view of the campesinos in Ayacucho. Everywhere they turn, the system controls their lives and exploits them. However, the oppression does not end their resistance. Others take the place of those who die in fighting the system. The only avenue for escaping their poverty is for the poor to unite and do away with the system.

Conclusions

La tumba del relámpago and Los ilegítimos describe exploitation that occurs in the 1960s and 1970s, and foreshadow the revolutionary violence that would confront the Peruvian nation beginning in 1980. The two works describe a system that cruelly exploits the campesino and thwarts the possibility for peaceful change. In La tumba del relámpago the campesinos face inadequate land and unemployment in the mining sector. In Los ilegítimos the principal problem is a lack of land. While Pérez Huarancca characterizes the system as a united front against the campesino, Scorza argues that there are some cracks in the system. The Seminarista, Genaro Ledesma, and the nucleus of the new revolutionary left fight for the campesino. The key, however, lies in the campesinos themselves. Scorza argues that they are proletarianized and are gaining more of a revolutionary consciousness. Pérez Huarancca describes the campesino in terms of resistance to the system, which indicates a similar level of consciousness. Both create campesino characters that are combative. Scorza argues that there are two basic requirements to have a successful revolution. One is to overcome an indigenous mythical world view. The second is to develop a revolutionary theory that considers campesino needs and desires and relates to the specific Peruvian historical reality. Pérez Huarancca asserts that the campesino must overthrow the system in a

long-term struggle. Both works are highly critical of the exploitation of the campesino and advocate revolution as the only way to overcome the system that exploits the campesino.

While Scorza provides an outline of the search for a new revolutionary praxis, in real life Pérez Huarancca was one of the principal ideologues of the revolutionary theory developed by Sendero Luminoso. The next two chapters examine the narrative visions of writers concerning violence in Peru since 1980. Although not every writer broaches the guerrilla war, all are critical of the exploitation of the campesino. Most of those that write about the guerrilla war are equally critical of the violence committed by the guerrillas and the repressive forces.

CHAPTER 4
VIOLENCE AND RELATIONS OF POWER IN SIX NOVELS FROM THE 1980S AND 1990S

The writers and texts studied in the fourth and fifth chapters represent a wide variety of opinions on contemporary Peru. The fourth chapter examines six novels by six different writers and the fifth chapter analyzes forty-one short stories by ten different writers. The order of novels in the fourth chapter follows a rough chronological line, although not every novel specifies when the action occurs. The order in the fifth follows a general line of more of an emphasis on violence and relations of power related to campesinos to more of a preoccupation with the guerrilla war.

Félix Huamán Cabrera

Félix Huamán Cabrera, a university professor, was born in Pariamarca, Canta, Lima in 1943. He has published over ten narrative works since 1970 and some works of poetry. In Candela quema luceros (1989) the military massacres a village. The reasons behind the massacre are a classic example of the misunderstandings between the indigenous and western world that have plagued Peru since the conquest. The analysis of Candela quema luceros focusses on the

valuing of the community structure, class differences in obtaining an education, and the misunderstanding between the community and government officials that leads to police and military violence.

The Community

The novel describes communal structures and customs that have served the campesinos well for centuries. As is common in indigenista texts, there is a contrast of a near utopian past with the disastrous results of the arrival of whites:

> Dicen que antes de que lleguen los blancos éramos felices. Todos trabajábamos para todos, como en la faena, cantando. Y cuando los blancos se hicieron ricos, fue peor nuestra desgracia. Se llevaban todo lo que teníamos y nos dejaban enfermedad y muerte. (106)

Everyone works for the good of the community, taking care of an orphan (105) and helping each other: "en fin, uno para todos, todos para uno. Así era Yawarhuaita" (24). When the newly elected community president argues that for the community to progress they need a highway, water, a reservoir, and a school, the community quickly builds the highway and a school (52-53). While the communal structures work well, they have problems with the government and whites. The community president warns the community that they should never believe the government and that its justice is actually injustice (176).

The novel contrasts the favorable description of the indigenous communal system with the threat of whites and the government. There is an idyllic past before the conquest, and in the present the system functions efficiently if others leave them alone. The community president identifies needs and the community addresses them. As will be discussed more below, the conflict with the government results in their annihilation.

Education

There is a different level of education for the socioeconomic elite than for the poor and middle class. Since education is one path for upward mobility, denying education to the poor or giving them an inadequate education is one way of continuing to exploit the poor. The elite see teachers who educate the poor about their rights as a threat to their power.

A Catholic girls school is elitist and corrupt. It requires its students to be from good families, to be Catholic, and to have the money to pay the tuition. They do not allow children of teachers to attend the school because they can not afford the tuition. While the entrance requirements are demanding, a donation can result in waived requirements (140-42).

The public school teacher, Julio, is a positive influence in the community, but his activities draw the

suspicions of the government authorities. He attacks the Catholic school's elitism and argues against excluding the poor from Peruvian society: "el Perú tiene que ser de todos los pobres, por eso vamos a luchar, a trabajar y a estudiar" (142). The judge wants the police to force the youngest community members to describe what Julio teaches them, because he believes that teachers from outside the region are causing the communities to be recalcitrant (167). However, rather than being a troublemaker, he works to help the campesino. When the military begins to massacre the villagers, he pleads with the soldiers to have pity, because there are only mothers, children and old people there (177-78). When Cirilo, the lone survivor of the massacre, finds his body, he is protectively embracing one of his students (139).

The novel describes access to education as a form of power. The key to admission in the Catholic school is money, not merit. They admit students with inferior credentials if they have money. In contrast, Julio emphasizes the work ethic and says that they have to struggle, work and study. The elite see an educated community that demands their rights as a danger to their power.

Government Violence

The central conflict in the novel is a misunderstanding between the campesinos and provincial government authorities that leads to a massacre of the village. The community believes that a young girl lives in a mountain cave and provides them with rain (38-46). When a vindictive campesino from a neighboring village blows up the cave, they demand justice. The government arrests him and he admits to killing her after the police torture him (115-132). The community president believes that her death will result in death, drought, and hunger for the poor. When the provincial authorities realize that she is not a real person, they believe the comuneros are making fun of them and free the prisoner. The comuneros arrest him, community leaders go to the city to protest and the city authorities arrest them. Various communities go to the city en masse and free their leaders. The military massacres everyone in the village except an old man, who dies later, and a young man, Cirilo, who flees to the mountains (156-79).

The police are furious, full of hate, and fierce when they torture the campesino prisoners. The police, faces covered, beat, whip, kick, and douse a campesino with cold water to get him to talk. Four other badly beaten campesinos are also in the jail. The fifth, taken out the previous night, never returns and is presumed dead (132).

The military massacres the villagers to serve as an example to other villages to not defy the authorities. The soldiers arrive in the village at midnight and find only women, children and old people. They burn their houses and kill everyone (176-78). The narrator says that the orders are explicit and quotes a soldier: "¡merecen un buen castigo para que sirva de ejemplo!" (177). Another soldier justifies the massacre as having to follow orders and defending the nation:

> ¡Ordenes son órdenes y las órdenes se cumplen! ¡Después de este trabajo habrá harta cerveza, harto trago! ¿Más de lo que nos han dado? ¡Claro! ¡Agarren a las chibolas, rómpanles el pito! Y luego bala y más bala. Ese es el oficio. ¡Defendemos a la nación peruana! (178)

The lone survivor, Cirilo, witnesses part of the massacre, and later removes the dead from the mass grave and buries them in a more appropriate place. He overhears some soldiers talking about the massacre and they reiterate that the purpose of the massacre is to be an example to other communities. If they do not heed the message, they will receive the same treatment. The soldiers also describe the rape of a woman who pleads with them to not harm her children (18). After the last soldier rapes her, he kills her children like animals in front of her: "les tiró bala como ratas!" (18). They also rape another woman and cut her throat (178). The description of the dead is horrifyingly explicit, emphasizing the brutality of the mutilation and killing. When Cirilo enters a house, he smells burned meat

and sees a child's disfigured body (18). In the mass grave he finds a campesino that is black all over from blows received and has bullet wounds in the chest and temple (33). The soldiers cut out the community president's tongue and poke out his eyes (28).

However, not all the soldiers are willing participants or like what they are doing. Some have to drink to continue: "¡Pásenles a todo el mundo el trago; que fumen de la buena para que no estén con miedo estos huevones, porque de repente lloran al saber lo que están haciendo!" (179). Cirilo finds the body of a soldier, Albino, who is from the village. He is a victim of different rules for the rich and the poor. A rich man bribes the army to take Albino, thirteen years old, in place of his son. After killing a fleeing child and seeing the child's body, Albino realizes what he has done and shoots himself in the heart. Cirilo takes his body outside the village, because he says that he no longer belongs with the community (82-84).

Conclusions

Huamán Cabrera's novel is extremely critical of a government and a society that escalate a cultural misunderstanding into the extermination of a village. He contrasts an idyllic past with the abuses of the present. In many cases the government, the representative of the socioeconomic elite, is either hostile to or indifferent to

the needs of the campesinos. The community has to build a highway and a school. Access to education is limited and serves to perpetuate the existing order. When teachers like Julio educate the campesinos about their rights, the government views them as agitators and tries to suppress them. As is the case with access to education, the rich follow one set of rules and the poor another regarding military service. The cultural misunderstanding is, in a sense, analogous to the case of the Spanish conquistadors and the Inca Atahualpa. In both cases the lack of comprehension leads to the massacre of indigenous peoples and the creation or maintenance of western power. The brutality of the repressive forces reveals significant levels of racism toward the campesinos. The orders for the police do not require them to torture and kill prisoners and the military orders do not specify mutilating villagers and raping women. Huamán Cabrera's novel is a scathing indictment of the socioeconomic elite's subjugation and brutal repression of the campesino class, which begins with the murder of Atahualpa.

Samuel Cavero Galimindi

Samuel Cavero Galimindi was born in Ayacucho July 22, 1962. He has studied literature and linguistics at the Catholic University in Lima and is an officer and a journalist in the Peruvian Air Force. His second novel, El

rincón para los muertos (1987), is one of the first narrative fiction works to address the phenomenon of the Sendero Luminoso insurgency. According to Julio Roldán, as of 1990 it was one of only two novels to deal with Abimael Guzmán Reynoso, the founder and leader of Sendero Luminoso (111).[1]

The novel takes place in Ayacucho, the birthplace of Sendero Luminoso, and roughly covers the period from the 1960s to the early 1980s. It describes the decline of the system of land tenure, the politization of the campesino, and the rise of Sendero Luminoso. The protagonist is Gonzalo Pomareda, a character based on the real-life Abimael Guzmán, whose nom de guerre is Comrade Gonzalo. Rejecting his role as heir to a large hacienda, Gonzalo Pomareda chooses to prepare for the armed struggle. The action takes place on two levels. The first is the changes that affect the Ayacucho area. The second deals with the antagonisms between the changes brought about by Gonzalo Pomareda's actions, and his mother and stepfather's efforts to forestall the agrarian reform of the Velasco Alvarado government (1968-75) and the armed struggle of Sendero Luminoso. There are three stages in the development of the novel: Ayacucho before the agrarian reforms, after the agrarian reforms, and after the beginning of the armed

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[1] The other novel that Roldán cites is A la caza de Abimael, by the Frenchman Gerard de Villiers (111).

struggle. In the first stage Gonzalo Pomareda's parents are the owners of a large hacienda that employs many campesinos. With the advent of agrarian reforms, campesinos begin to demand their rights and fewer work at the hacienda. Gonzalo Pomareda does extensive organizing work in the countryside and in the university, where he is a professor. He frequently clashes with his parents and they eventually disinherit him. Although the hacienda manages to survive the agrarian reform period, Gonzalo Pomareda participates in an action to dislodge his parents and to kill his stepfather.

Considering Cavero's military background, it is surprising that, through the character of Gonzalo Pomareda, the novel reinforces many myths surrounding the figure of Abimael Guzmán. Julio Roldán argues that Cavero proposes to undo the myths surrounding Guzmán and does the opposite:

> esta novela gira en torno a la vida de Gonzalo Pomareda, quien vendría a representar al "Presidente Gonzalo". El autor se propone desmistificar al Dr. Guzmán Reynoso; y termina haciendo lo contrario, con el agravante de que esta novela ha sido difundida al interior de las Fuerzas Armadas, especialmente en la FAP. (111)

The analysis of El rincón para los muertos will focus on the following aspects: 1) criticisms of the overall system that continues to exploit the campesino after the agrarian reforms of the Velasco Alvarado government, 2) descriptions and criticisms of the guerrillas, and 3) the description and

the mythification of Gonzalo Pomareda, based on Abimael Guzmán.

Criticisms of the System

The novel is highly critical of the exploitation of the campesino and ineffective agrarian reforms. The landowning class cruelly exploits the campesinos before the 1969 Velasco Alvarado agrarian reform. While the reform does achieve some changes, the novel declares it a failure. Religion is largely ineffective and abandons them when they most need it. The government does not aid campesinos with basic needs and they are very skeptical of anything it does. By the time of the beginning of the armed struggle, campesinos do not have more land to cultivate, and feel abandoned by the government and religion. There is a power vacuum due to the incomplete eradication of the landowning class.

There is a slow but inexorable decline of the landowning class due to the agrarian reform and the ensuing emergence of Sendero Luminoso. Before the reform, landowners crave more land, more livestock, and more peons (108) and they successfully thwart much of the redistribution of land (243). However, the agrarian reform radically changes their lives. Many businesses close or change owners, families move to Lima, and those that remain are poorer (245). One family that flees to Lima continues

to exploit campesinos and to make a living from their labor. The daughter remains in Ayacucho, contracts campesino women to be servants in Lima and entices them with promises of social position, money, and education (175). She reflects the racism of many of her class: "les hacemos un favor al disimular su salvajismo, su ignorancia, mujeres inclutas, desgraciadas" (175). In spite of the changes, the narrator considers the reform a failure: "La Reforma Agraria había fracasado, el descontento popular se volvió incontrolable, sangriento" (277).

Gonzalo Pomareda's mother, Dolores, and his stepfather, Honorato, are individual examples of racist landowners who exploit the campesinos. She is white and he is mestizo (107). Honorato believes that campesinos should be humble (66) and views them as his property: "Gonzalo, cuándo aprenderás que en el Perú nosotros siempre mandamos. Estos hombres son leales, sus vidas y sus derechos nos pertenecen" (32). He explains to a new foreman that he is now better than a peon, not as good as him: "Recuerda también que eres indio, pero mejor que peón. Los peones te obedecerán y respetarán, como debes hacerlo tú con tu señor" (70). Dolores complains about campesinos stinking (106). She forces Jacinta Pichillacta, Gonzalo Pomareda's principal comrade, to leave the house and to wait in the patio because she is an Indian (137). They will not allow him to marry Jacinta because she is an Indian (185) and disinherit him

because they consider their living together a stain on the family honor (149). Dolores urges him to look for a white woman from his own class (189). Honorato sleeps with village women before he allows them to live with their husbands (18) and attacks Jacinta Pichillacta during her visit to the hacienda (134). The campesinos who work in the hacienda (31) and in a nearby village hate him (331).

Honorato and Dolores resist, but the agrarian reform and the onslaught of the armed struggle destroy them and their hacienda. Formerly submissive campesinos abandon the hacienda (139-40). When the government orders him to abandon the hacienda (243), he buys ammunition and swears that they will only leave when they are dead (249-50). They foil the agrarian reform's attempt to distribute their land to the campesinos, but they do not survive the armed struggle. The guerrillas, including Gonzalo Pomareda, attack the hacienda (329-30) and kill Honorato (346).

The agrarian reform and Gonzalo's political work markedly change the campesinos, but they remain very suspicious of the government. Before the reforms the hacienda peons are submissive and resigned to their fate (22-23). With the advent of the agrarian reform, they demand fair treatment. They begin to refuse to work, demand pay for their work, complain about mistreatment by hacienda foremen, and leave for the mountains or coastal cities. There are also violent confrontations between campesinos and

landowners that sometimes result in property damage and the loss of life (125). Despite changes produced by the agrarian reform, the campesinos remain highly suspicious of the government due to the large gulf between its rhetoric and action. They question the effectiveness of the agrarian reform when they do not have enough money to combat a plague of locusts and see no sign of government aid for basic needs (250). Pacaycasa opposes the construction of a highway through their village because they have no faith in the government: "se sentían desengañados con el gobierno y su Reforma Agraria que de poco les había servido para aliviar su pobreza, su atraso, su marginación. Estaban cansados de esperar las obras públicas prometidas" (303).

The comuneros of Pacaycasa reject Father Salvador and the statue of the Virgin Santa Candelaria because they believe both are allies of landowners. Father Salvador counsels the comuneros to have patience and describes a future with bountiful harvests and government aid (51-52). Donated by Honorato, some say the Virgin never appears in the Bible and that its purpose is to distract them from their real problems (44). The comuneros quit going to the temple. They accuse the priest of living with white gods and only helping landowners, and believe that the Virgin no longer performs miracles and God is punishing them by abandoning them (50-52).

After Father Salvador dies, Father Armando Capote whips the villagers into a frenzy by declaring that the apocalypse is near (258-60). His influence is such that he convinces them to change the names of babies to ones from the Bible (269). He exhorts them to not join the subversives, and argues that the kingdom of God will be founded on virtue and love, not fear and politics (269). He continues to warn them about Satan's fury (307), but disappears when Sendero Luminoso enters the village (339-41). They never hear from him again.

In conclusion, the novel is highly critical of the system in Ayacucho before and after the agrarian reform. Landowners abuse campesinos before and after the agrarian reform. Disillusioned campesinos see a huge gulf between the government's words and actions. They view one priest as an ally of the landowners and the other abandons them at the first sign of the guerrillas. They begin to question their beliefs because the government deceives them and the priest disappears. It is in this vacuum that the guerrillas begin their armed struggle.

Sendero Luminoso

Once the armed struggle begins, an atmosphere of fear and uncertainty permeates the novel. The campesinos become much more reserved. They speak only when necessary and rarely mention soldiers or guerrillas, because no one knows

where another's allegiances may lie (334), and the guerrillas punish betrayal by killing relatives (318). The narrator describes the armed struggle as a reign of death: "La muerte estaba reinando, había encontrado su rincón en Ayacucho, en Pacaycasa, y en otros pueblos del país" (332). In addition, many characters do not understand the guerrillas' brutality or their motivations.

In various actions the guerrillas rob merchants and kill the mayor of Pacaycasa. Isidoro, a merchant in Pacaycasa, complains that the repressive forces and the guerrillas expect him to give them free goods:

> Todos los que pasan quieren que esta bodega los surta gratis. Unos: ¡Por el orden y la democracia, viejo avaro y cojudo! Y otros, más insolentes todavía, porque pintaron las paredes y nos amenazaron: ¡Por la guerra de guerrillas, mierda!, me dijeron. (334)

Gonzalo vows that they will kill Isidoro because he insults him by calling him "'hijo de las tinieblas'" (346). Clorofidio Pomata, also a merchant from Pacaycasa, complains about guerrillas who steal money, beer, and liquor from his bar. The leader of the group puts a rifle to his throat, laughs, and makes him swallow the barrel. They plunder and dynamite the mayor's house. Clorofidio Pomata and Isidoro do not understand why they kill the mayor, because he defends the village from landowners, works for the village's prosperity and is a good and popular man (337-39). Gonzalo justifies the killing of the mayor because he refuses to receive them, give them food, and collaborate (345).

Gonzalo Pomareda participates in the attack on his parents' hacienda. He shouts for them to abandon the hacienda: "-Los campesinos del ande han sufrido mucho, lárguense de la casa-hacienda, gamonales-, sentenció colérico el camarada Gonzalo. Estaba armado, como algunos de sus hombres. Todos ellos parecían dispuestos a todo" (329). They behead their dogs, throw the bleeding bodies on the patio, toss dynamite and shout for them to give up (329-32). Afterward, while the main house at the hacienda is still burning, Gonzalo imagines the scene: "Gonzalo se imaginó a su madre abrazando el cadáver de su esposo, desgarrándose de dolor, maldiciéndolo una vez más" (346).

In the novel the guerrillas's actions create a climate of terror and death. Campesinos fear for their lives and become reticent. Certain seemingly needless actions, such as beheading dogs and laughing while forcing a rifle barrel down a merchant's throat, serve to terrorize the population. With the death of the mayor, they emphasize their message to collaborate or die. The vow to murder Isidoro exposes a petty side of Gonzalo Pomareda. They will kill him as revenge for a personal insult, not as part of a grand revolutionary strategy. The murder of his stepfather approaches patricide. Gonzalo Pomareda's brutality is further underscored when he emotionlessly imagines his mother insulting him and embracing her dead husband.

Gonzalo Pomareda

In real life various myths have surfaced that describe Abimael Guzmán as a god-like character. While his image has changed drastically since his capture, this analysis concerns a work written while Guzmán was still at large. In "Gonzalo:" el mito Julio Roldán analyzes many of the rumors and myths spread by the press and the public about Abimael Guzmán. Since the mid 1980s there have been at least twenty press reports of Guzmán's capture, a similar number about his being badly wounded, and the front pages of newspapers have announced his death no less than fifty times. Press reports also announce that the repressive forces have arrived where Guzmán had just been. There are rumors in the jungle regions that, surrounded with no possible escape, he suddenly transformed himself into a bird or a snake and escaped. In the southern mountains a similar version is that he changed into a rock. Other rumors are that he has doubles, while in the department of La Libertad some believe that he is a ghost. Others believe that he may be the realization of the myth of Inkarri (112-13). The novel helps perpetuate these myths about Gonzalo Pomareda, the character based on Guzmán.

Gonzalo Pomareda is very intelligent, disciplined and committed to the revolutionary cause. He has an extraordinary memory (159) and is very meticulous (208). Before returning to Ayacucho, he prepares himself for

leading the revolution. He travels and studies in Cuba and European socialist countries, makes contacts with various guerrilla groups and learns languages, including Quechua (86-87).[2] The narrator calls him "un ser convencido de sus ideales, identificado con su pueblo" (100). Honors (118 and 203), glory (173), and fame do not interest him (321). His goal is to provoke the reaction of the exploiting classes (321) and he is ready to die for the cause (118).

There are many references to Gonzalo Pomareda, by himself and by others, as a prophet or god-like being. He considers himself a prophet (161), a savior surrounded by his disciples (159), and possibly approaching perfection (158). The narrator also describes him as a god-like figure when the guerrillas attack his parents' hacienda: "como un Dios terrenal en una y en todas partes....De nada valdrían los anatemas del hacendado porque esa voz, la de ese comunista, parecía de trueno, que digo, de perro rabioso" (331). He believes he will change the course of history:

> Mientras escribía se daba el gusto de rememorar y hasta burlarse, de las grandes revoluciones que habían hecho historia conmoviendo a millones de humanos. La suya cambiaría por completo el curso de la historia. ¿Cuántas? Diez, veinte, no importa cuántas por ahora. Para ese entonces

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[2] The groups mentioned are the following: the Spanish Frente Revolucionario Antifascista y Patriotica (FRAP), the Ejército de Liberación Nacional (ELN) in Peru, Colombia, and Bolivia, the Movimiento de la Izquierda Revolucionaria (MIR) in Peru, Venezuela, and Chile, leftist parties and sympathizers in Peru, and the Rote Armee Fraktion (RAF) in West Germany (86-87).

> Ayacucho sería lo que no fue nunca: la meca del gran Profeta. (209)

He covets a status as a god-like figure:

> al fin de cuentas sería un colosal líder que, cuando el tiempo también hablara por él, fuera un guía espiritual venerado, analizado, envidiado y buscado por propios y extraños, un personaje histórico, pronto a volverse mítico por influjo de la gente; casi un Dios. (86)

There are also descriptions of him as demonic. The narrator says that Jacinta Pichillacta, Gonzalo's confidant, is his ideal woman (154) and that the two are identical except for being of opposite sexes (204). She is described as a demon: "¡Esa es un demonio!, tiene a Lucifer metido dentro de la falda" (206). Gonzalo admires her because she can smile while killing someone (205). A villager believes that when Father Capote preaches about Satan, he is talking about Gonzalo:

> Pues, pensándolo bien la peste a que tanto hizo referencia en sus mensajes serían los subversivos, hijos del mal, guiados por Satanás, por el Satanás camarada Gonzalo. Y, recordando las palabras proféticas del religioso, estaban condenados, porque éstas ya eran horas aciagas, cercanas al fin del mundo, porque el Satán estaba con ellos, cerca, en la ciudad de Ayacucho y fuera de ella, en cada uno de sus pueblos devotos, como un Dios todopoderoso, en todas partes. (340)

Rumors aid in the creation of the mythical status of Gonzalo Pomareda. He is a great orator, has an uncanny ability to persuade, and leads a strictly disciplined life. Some say he is badly wounded or dead. Others say he has a genius for surviving and has as many lives as a cat. He has been seen, is in hiding in Ayacucho, or is en route to

another part of the country. He has been captured. He is another country. After plastic surgery, he is in another country living the life of a playboy with the money collected for the guerrilla war. He is a master of disguise. Depending on the need, he can appear as an army officer, priest, police sergeant, or indigent woman. The armed forces, police, national intelligence service, CIA and Interpol are feverishly looking for him (333-37).

In reflecting press reports and popular rumors about Abimael Guzmán in the description of Gonzalo Pomareda, the novel reinforces Gonzalo (Guzmán) as a mythical personality beyond the reach of mere mortals. The novel ends with Gonzalo Pomareda eluding the repressive forces again (350-51), and asks two questions: "Dónde andará Gonzalo?... ¿Usted, lo sabe?" (351).

Conclusions

Un rincón para los muertos harshly criticizes the system that exploits the campesino, the government's failed agrarian reform, and the violence of Sendero Luminoso. The landowning class views and treats the campesino as inferior to them. The agrarian reform partially achieves the aim of debilitating the landowning class, but some landowners thwart the redistribution of land. In addition, the government does not follow through with programs to help the campesinos, who lose faith in the government and religion.

They view the Santa Candelaria and Father Salvador as allies of the landowners, and Father Capote abandons them. In the power vacuum left by the decline of the landowning class, Sendero Luminoso begins its armed struggle. Various characters can not comprehend the reasons behind the brutality of the guerrillas. The novel describes and condemns landowner abuses that lead to the failed agrarian reform. Its failure and the rising expectations of the campesinos lead to more tension, which plays into the guerrillas' hands.

Although the novel is very critical of the character of Gonzalo Pomareda, based on the actual Abimael Guzmán, it perpetuates his mythical status and the aura of invincibility that surrounds him. He is brilliant, disciplined, and committed to the revolutionary cause. He and others consider him almost as a supernatural being and the rumors surrounding his escapes enhance his aura of invincibility. The end of the novel reinforces these ideas of Gonzalo as beyond the reach of the repressive forces and adds to the myth surrounding the guerrillas. If their leader is invincible, then they, too, may be invincible. It is debatable whether Julio Roldán's thesis is correct that Cavero proposes to destroy the myth surrounding Guzmán. If that is his purpose, the novel is a failure. If, however, his purpose is to describe the historical realities of the time, he reflects many of the myths that surround the figure

of Abimael Guzmán and Sendero Luminoso. Whatever his intentions, Cavero helps to perpetuate the myths surrounding Abimael Guzmán and Sendero Luminoso.

Julio Ortega

Julio Ortega, a professor of literature at Brown University, in the United States, was born in Casma, Ancash in 1942. He is well-known for his literary criticism, poetry, plays, and narrative fiction. He has published over thirty books of literary criticism and literature as well as numerous articles. His short novel, Adiós Ayacucho (1986), is extremely critical of the second Belaúnde government (1980-85). A campesino activist, brutally murdered by the police, recounts his journey to Lima to recover his arm, leg, and other body parts that the police steal. During the trip there is scathing criticism, tinged with black humor, of many aspects of Peruvian society. The analysis of the novel centers on abuses of campesinos, violence by the repressive forces and the guerrillas, and the government as responsible for the violence.

Abuses of Campesinos

The narrator, Alfonso Cánepa, is thirty-eight years old and becomes a campesino leader by chance. He and the other men of his community complain about a neighboring landowner who monopolizes the water from the river. The police decide

that Alfonso is the leader and jail him incommunicado for a month. While in jail, he realizes that his condemned life is predestined. He decides to oppose the landowner when he gets out of jail, even though they will arrest him again (29). After the police kill him, he thinks he is dumb for being idealistic enough to believe in and follow legal avenues (11).

Both Alfonso and a young boy who helps a truck driver illustrate abuses of campesinos. While walking in downtown Lima, someone sees Alfonso hobbling and jokes that the Brazilian circus must be in town, and a woman's racist reply is, "La raza indígena no da para más" (53). After he starts acting crazy, people finally treat him like a human being (59). While the truck driver and a student are deciding what to do with the narrator, the helper tries to interrupt to tell them that a military patrol is approaching (25-26). Both shout: "¡Tú te callas, cholo de mierda!" (25). The driver hits him in the nose and Alfonso remarks: "Este es un peruano perfecto, me dije, sangra con entusiasmo" (26). He comments on the irony of the importance placed on birth and death, while life itself is full of abuses: "Nos paren como un milagro histórico y nos entierran como una tragedia mundial; entretanto, inexplicablemente, nos apalean sin tregua" (26).

The corrupt judicial system also exploits the campesinos. When Alfonso arrives in Ayacucho, many people

are showing each other photos of their disappeared relatives. If they find a missing relative in a clandestine grave, the process is long and ripe with corruption. They need tinterillos for help with the legal proceedings for burial, scribes to type the documents, and coimeros to facilitate the processing. A coimero offers to get Alfonso a death certificate, or, if he prefers, a certificate of good health or a passport (37-38). For Alfonso, "Este coimero expansivo era un verdadero hombre de estado" (38).

In a biting criticism of opportunities in contemporary Peru, Alfonso asks the truck driver's helper about his plans. He has not finished primary school, and has no interest in becoming a drug trafficker or a guerrilla. He is a victim of the guerrillas and the police. The guerrillas charge his brother with being an informer and kill him, and the sinchis say his sister is a prostitute and kill her (22-23). Alfonso tells him if he does not choose one of those options, he has little future in Peru: "Pero si no estudias para antropólogo, si no te metes en la coca, si no te vas con Sendero, te queda poco futuro en el Perú" (24).

The novel describes the life of a campesino as full of abuses, with the exception of birth and death. Both Alfonso and the truck driver's helper are the target of racist remarks that reflect the disdainful treatment of campesinos. For example, a Lima woman believes that the indigenous

peoples are only good for circus freak shows. When campesinos protest a landowner's monopolizing water, the police arrest Alfonso. His belief in the legal system leads him to present himself to the police, who promptly torture and murder him. The families of the disappeared know nothing about the whereabouts of their relatives. When they do find their bodies, they have to pay bribes to various people associated with the corrupt judicial system. Alfonso cynically remarks that if a person does not work with the corrupt government, drug traffickers, or guerrillas, there is no future for a Peruvian campesino.

The Repressive Forces and the Guerrillas

Both the police and the military are brutal. The police torture and kill the narrator. They falsely accuse him of being a guerrilla and cut off parts of his fingers. In the outskirts of town, they push him out of a moving jeep. He tries to hide, but the police throw two grenades at him and toss him in a grave (9). The military is equally ruthless. When the truck driver, his helper, a student, and Alfonso are passing through a village, suddenly there is an explosion, red flags appear on rooftops, and soldiers appear everywhere. In their zeal to find prisoners, they take the innocent student away. In a conversation between Alfonso and a military leader, the latter expresses a brutal and bloodthirsty attitude associated with soldiers. He says

they learn to drink blood during their training, patriotic soldiers kill communists, and that their first duty is to eat a guerrilla's heart (30-31). When Alfonso sees a marine patrol with guerrilla prisoners, he asks how the killing is going and the marine leader answers that it is going well (27-28).

The novel is critical of Sendero Luminoso, but judges the guerrillas less harshly than the repressive forces. The guerrillas kill a local government official (29-30) and rob the cargo from a truck (35-36). Alfonso criticizes them and their ideology: "Lo único luminoso que tienes es el culo" (35). After the guerrilla leader, comrade Diana, recognizes him, she says he deserves his fate of neither being alive or dead because he is a reformist. In the revolutionary struggle there is no room for halfway measures. She asks him to join them, and he declines (35-36). When he sees a marine patrol with ten guerrilla prisoners on their way to be killed, he describes them as normal human beings: "No eran los iluminados del único camino, ni los héroes de la revolución mundial. Eran tan de carne y hueso como cualquiera, sólo que un poco más, porque sabían que los iban a matar" (27).

In the contrasting description of the guerrillas and the repressive forces, the latter suffers more in the novel. The police and soldiers are always perpetrators of violence, while the guerrillas are both perpetrators and victims.

While the narrator and the novel in no way applaud Sendero Luminoso's ideology or actions, both are harsher in their criticism of the repressive forces, who are representatives of the government.

The Government and Blame for the Violence

The novel describes the government as indifferent and responsible for the violence associated with the guerrilla war. When Alfonso arrives in Lima, he hears that President Belaúnde will give a speech on the need for Christian charity in the main plaza. He reaches Belaúnde and gives him a letter explaining his desire to have his remains returned to him. As soon as he reaches him, bodyguards wrestle him away and one robs his boot. Belaúnde throws the unopened letter on the ground (61-63). The indifference of the Belaúnde government is especially ironic since the speech is on Christian charity. The letter argues that the Belaúnde government is to blame for the violence associated with the guerrilla war: "Sus antropólogos e intelectuales han determinado que la violencia se origina en Sendero Luminoso. No, señor, la violencia se origina en el sistema, y en el Estado que Ud. representa" (32).

Alfonso argues that while the Belaúnde government is to blame for the current violence, it is following a pattern that dates to the conquest. He contends that Father Valverde deceives the Inca Atahualpa with his discourse. He

tells him that he is speaking in the name of God, promises him salvation, and says the Bible is the word of God. Atahualpa puts the Bible to his ear, hears no words, and throws it to the ground. Alfonso argues that Atahualpa's desecration of the Bible is the prearranged signal for the Spanish to attack. Alfonso insists that the discourse of the Uchuracay commission is similar to that of Father Valverde. They know the campesinos are guilty of killing eight journalists, but they provide an excuse for the massacre that exculpates the police and the government from responsibility. Alfonso says that the argument is that the campesinos are in a state of cultural confusion, and have their own customs and ways of administering justice. They contend that the police do not instigate them in the massacre, rather, the campesinos confuse the journalists with guerrillas (19-20). Alfonso concludes that both Father Valverde and the Uchuracay commission use duplicitous discourse that reenforces the power of the state: "¿no ves que a nombre de la autoridad se promete la justicia cuando se está reafirmando el poder estatal?" (20). He also claims that one can write Peruvian history by describing the massacres of the government in power:

> La verdadera historia nacional sería este cuento de las variaciones en la matanza en los mataderos de turno. Cada estilo de matar señalaría una época, cada muerto ilustre (Atahualpa, Túpac Amaru, José Olaya, Alfonso Ugarte, Atusparia, y tantos otros), pero también cada muerto anónimo, da cuenta de su cuerpo condenado y torturado, y en estos tiempos de guerra sucia, desaparecido

> después de despedazado. Este cementerio nacional es un velar sin término, un luto del alma, como creo que dice el vals, un panteón con aeropuerto. (15-16)

Conclusions

The novel is a scathing indictment of the Peruvian government and society. Campesinos suffer the racism and abuses of fellow Peruvians, and the corrupt government is indifferent to their plight. It unleashes the fury of its repressive forces to counter the threat of Sendero Luminoso, and, in the process, tramples on the rights and lives of innocent people, primarily campesinos. The exploitation and repression by the government are a continuation of the conquest. The only revenge that Alfonso can render is to replace the bones in Francisco Pizarro's tomb with his own (64-65). In this action he, a descendant of five hundred years of exploitation precipitated by Pizarro's conquest, inverts a part of history. People who come to see the instigator of the Peruvian conquest will see one of his victims.

Miguel Garnett

Miguel Garnett, a Catholic priest and professor at a Cajamarca seminary, was born in London in 1935. He arrived in Peru in 1967 and became a naturalized citizen in 1974. In the prologue to his novel Catequil (1990), he makes explicit his desire that the novel be a part of the current

political debate: "Entonces, si Categuil ayuda en la reflección y la autocrítica para mejorarnos, me sentiré contento y creo habrá servido en algo a mi patria adoptiva" (8).

The novel criticizes the social order and violence by the repressive forces and the guerrillas, and proposes that the solution is the teachings of the New Testament. After the guerrillas attack the city during Holy Week, the army takes control from the corrupt local government and declares a state of emergency. One of the army's first actions is to cover up the police torture and murder of two campesinos and a guerrilla. The priest criticizes the civil government, the repressive forces and the guerrillas. The military and police hatch an inept plot to discredit the priest as a guerrilla, but the plan is a complete failure. A guerrilla tries to assassinate a police lieutenant, but he misses and kills an innocent young man. With the shock of his death, there is a rebirth of Christian faith in the city. The interpretation of the novel focusses on criticisms of the government, violence by the repressive forces and the guerrillas, and the message of Christian love as the prescription for ending the violence.

Criticisms of the Government

The corrupt civil government officials work primarily to maintain the existing relations of power, but changing

conditions challenge their power. They assign teaching positions on the basis of the needs of the APRA and local officials. Instead of renewing a teacher's contract, they award it to the unqualified daughter of a major contributor to the APRA (17–19). The principal lawyer, also the acting judge, is a drunk and a womanizer (209–10) and works to maintain the status quo. When a poor campesino woman asks him to locate her disappeared son, he takes her money and does nothing. He often drinks with the police lieutenant, who pays, and he does not want to upset him on behalf of an Indian (32–34). During the process of presiding over the autopsy of two campesinos murdered by the police, the army confiscates the bodies and he does not protest. He tells the priest that the military is in power, civilians can do nothing, and it is not worth complicating his life over campesinos (121–27). The narrator describes the mayor as doing a basically good job within limited conditions: "Dentro de los límites de su estrecho trasfondo de la vida provinciana, resultaba ser un alcalde tan bueno como se podía esperar" (36). After the army takes control of the city, he believes he is a nobody and feels humiliated and bitter (104).

These officials perceive a threat to their power from the actions of the priest and the rondas campesinas.[3] The

[3] There are two types of rondas campesinas. Campesinos in Cajamarca formed the first in 1976 to combat thieves. The second is a creation of the armed forces for campesino defense

mayor says the priest has radical ideas (93). The supervisor of education believes that he has dangerous ideas, too much power over young people (70), and blames him for the existence of the rondas (92). He perceives a clear threat in the rondas and complains that they believe that they are as good as whites (92). Members of the rondas oust teachers and close schools, because they say the teachers are ignorant and lazy. In his racist commentary, he equates the rondas with the guerrillas: "Al paso que vamos, todos los postulantes para las escuelas en el campo tendrán que presentarse ante un tribunal de indios mugrientos. ¡No puede ser! Para mí los ronderos son igualitos a los terrucos" (92). The mayor sees the rondas campesinas as a threat to the established political and judicial authorities. He laments that the president of a ronda campesina is more important in the countryside than local village officials. He complains that Indians bypass judicial authorities, because the rondas campesinas administer justice quicker, cheaper, and better (92).

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against Sendero Luminoso. The first type is relatively autonomous and primarily in the north, while the second is under the control of the armed forces and primarily in the south (Starn 78-80). The novel takes place in Cajamarca, where the majority of rondas are. For more information, see Orin Starn, "Por las serranías del norte: Noche de ronda," Quehacer 69 (1993): 76-92.

The Repressive Forces and the Guerrillas

Lieutenant Vargas, a sinchi, is corrupt, detests the priest, and justifies the dirty war. He accepts bribes from a drug trafficker (142) and participates in an army plot to discredit the priest because, according to the colonel, Vargas is brave, has no scruples, and hates the priest (132). While serving in Ayacucho, a human rights commission accuses him of wrongdoing. The police clear him, but block his promotion (145). He argues that innocent people suffer and die in a war (114), and that since Sendero Luminoso does not respect human rights, it is necessary to have the same attitude to defeat them (53). He also wants revenge for the death of three of his policemen at the hands of the guerrillas (143). He contends that the repressive forces are intermediaries for those who do not want to dirty their hands (52). Vargas believes in the Cisneros doctrine:

> los campesinos son la materia prima de los terroristas y el agua en que los peces subversivos nadan. Entonces, hay que eliminar la materia prima, aunque sea un bebé de apenas dos semanas, y secar el agua. Hagan eso y los terrucos tienen que desaparecer forzosamente. (52)

He believes that if a village or a family aids or protects the guerrillas, they are the enemy and should be treated without pity (114).

Police violence includes the torture and killing of prisoners and an assault on a village. They torture and kill two campesinos, falsely accused of being guerrillas,

and a guerrilla. They submerge the campesinos in cold water full of detergent and excrement, hang them, beat them, burn them with cigarettes, and kick them in the testicles (20). After the torture, both have broken teeth and ribs, and one can not stop vomiting (84). They use electric shock for an hour on the guerrilla until she faints (65-66) and kill all three later (79). The assault on a village is a reprisal for a guerrilla attack against a cooperative (40). A character complains that the police pillage their houses, rob their animals and steal their money (33). Two policemen rape a fifteen year old girl and set fire to her house (39).

The army works with the police in hiding evidence of the torture and murder of the two campesinos and the guerrilla, and plots to frame the priest as a guerrilla. During the autopsy of the two campesinos, the army confiscates the bodies and takes them to their headquarters. They mutilate the bodies beyond recognition and change the autopsy report (124-31). The colonel decides to have lieutenant Vargas discredit the priest and erode his base of support (131-32). Vargas knows that Hunfri Becerra, who is now a guerrilla, always stays at the church when he is in the city. He plans to spread rumors that the priest is a guerrilla, to arrest Hunfri in the church and to plant documents related to the guerrillas (185). It is a complete disaster. These two actions illustrate the novel's

criticism of the army for hiding evidence of human rights abuses and interfering in local affairs.

The novel describes the guerrillas as ruthless in their actions. After the police torture a guerrilla and gain no information, lieutenant Vargas admires her ability to resist in a sobering statement about the possibility of guerrilla success: "¡Dios mío, con una columna de chicas como ésta, haría frente a todo el puto ejército!" (67). They exact revenge for her murder. As drug traffickers and two policemen are disposing of her body and those of the two campesinos, the guerrillas ambush them and cut the policemen's throats (154-55). In a cooperative they kill functionaries, engineers, and a policeman. The latter dies when he steps on a bomb while trying to lower the flag raised by the guerrillas (40). In the city an attack against the police headquarters fails, but they blow up an electrical tower, burn the municipal depository, and kill its guard (45-46). They kill Gilberto Llacta, a lieutenant governor who disregards their order to renounce his post. While his wife and two children watch, they fire against his temple. A guerrilla tells his widow that he is a thief, an enemy of the people and a government lackey. He steals money from the village and constructs a house in the city with money intended for a medical clinic (25-26).

In conclusion, both the civil government and the repressive forces work against the Indians. Civil officials

award teaching positions according to their own needs and those of the APRA, not those of the Indians. The education supervisor and the lawyer think they are inferior. The police torture and murder two campesinos and the army helps hide the evidence. The police rob and rape villagers. Their leader, lieutenant Vargas, believes that the dirty war, whose principal target are campesinos, is the only way to combat the guerrillas effectively.

The civil officials view the priest and the rondas campesinas as threats to their power and the police and army try to help them maintain it. The civil officials believe that the rondas are usurping their power and see the priest as their primary supporter. In addition, the priest is a vocal critic of the government and repressive forces. In plotting to discredit him, the army and police believe they will achieve many goals. Reducing the priest's influence will hamper the rondas, they will be rid of a critic, and the civil officials' position will be strengthened. While the government exploits the Indian and attempts to maintain its power, the destruction and death caused by the guerrillas exacerbates the situation. It is within this context that the novel proposes the solution of Christian love.

The Prescription of Christian Love

The principal thesis is that only Christian love as expressed in the New Testament can change society. The priest attacks government corruption, the police, the military, and the guerrillas, and argues that the only way to overcome the violence is to embrace the teachings of Jesus. In addition to the priest, three characters serve as examples of Christian love: the triumph of love, forgiveness, and a Christ-like sacrifice that results in a rebirth of faith and optimism.

Father Alfonso Calderón is an exemplary character who does not succumb to temptations. The priest for ten years, he is thirty-three years old (the same age as Jesus when he was crucified), has traces of indigenous blood and is from the province. His character is above reproach and he does not surrender to the temptations of women and liquor. In the city there is resentment and jealousy of his extensive work to establish Christian communities in the countryside (36-39).

Father Alfonso criticizes the government and the guerrillas, and argues that there should be a dialogue to resolve the violence. In a city meeting he argues that government corruption and exploitation of campesinos create a favorable atmosphere for the existence of the guerrillas. Campesinos feel exploited in the city streets, stores and public offices. The police abuse nearby villagers and

disappear two. The judicial system and the local government are corrupt. He believes that if it were not for these conditions, the guerrillas would have to no reason to exist (59-62). He condemns the destruction caused by the guerrillas and believes that they are not doing anything to solve problems (56). He argues that one of the main impediments to resolving the violence is a lack of sincere dialogue:

> No hay diálogo sincero y abierto entre los diferentes grupos en el país. Todos buscamos llevar agua a nuestro propio molino. Yo no creo en los políticos, en los militares o en los terrucos. Ustedes no creen en la Iglesia. Los políticos no creen entre sí. Los terrucos no creen en nadie. Y así vamos. (235)

His prescription for overcoming these problems and forming a new society is to follow the teachings of the Bible, especially the New Testament. For genuine societal change, the people must transform themselves. If they take the Bible seriously, they will be able to create a just society (56-57). In a sermon he contrasts Christ's sacrifice with sacrifices that the guerrillas and many politicians force on others: "Vino a ofrecerse para el servicio de todos los hombres, a sacrificarse por ellos y no con el propósito de sacrificar a otros en favor de sus ideales y caprichos, como hacen los subversivos y muchos políticos" (94).

One example of the potential of Christian love is the case of a young woman. While searching for a friend who is

a guerrilla, she falls in love with lieutenant Vargas, who is responsible for her friend's death. She tells the priest that she originally seduces him to help her friend, and now she loves and hates him. The priest tells her that her friend and the lieutenant are trapped in a vision of hatred, and thinks that God wants her to be an example of love:

> Los dos hablan de exterminar a las ratas del otro bando; pero hace falta una visión donde no haya ratas, ni tampoco la necesidad de exterminadores. Quizá Dios esté llamándole para ser un ejemplo de amor. (194)

At the end of the novel, she perceives a change in him (256). The last the reader sees of the two is when they walk off together, with Christian love transforming the brutal policeman.

Leonor Verástegui, the second example, is a devout woman who grows in her faith throughout the novel and forgives the murder of her son. The wife of the bank administrator, she reflects the opinions of many of her class when she admits that the guerrilla war only becomes a concern to her when it affects her directly. It takes the death of a friend's son to make her more aware. Before the death she is happy when she hears about the death of a _senderista_, does not worry about the deaths of _campesinos_, and justifies the deaths of the police and military as job hazards (30-31). While participating in a church procession, instead of reading a Biblical passage, she strongly criticizes the corruption and inefficiency of past

governments and the present APRA government. In this speech she argues for the poor as well as her class. She attacks past governments for working solely for their own benefit and condemning the hardworking poor to inescapable poverty. Due to the poor handling of the economy, thousands of mothers can no longer buy bread for their children (222). At the end of the novel, after a guerrilla mistakenly kills her son, she practices the forgiveness preached by the priest. She insists that the guerrilla's godmother place her floral offering on her son's casket and tells her that the guerrilla and her son have reconciled in death (257). At the beginning of the novel, she is a devout woman not particularly aware or concerned with the plight and suffering of the poor. As the novel develops, she gains a more Christian consciousness toward the poor and forgives the murder of her son.

The third example of Christian love is the sacrifice of a Christ-like figure, Manuel Verástegui, who is Leonor's son. Like Christ, he heals. A medical student, he saves a soldier's life after an accident (103). He struggles with his faith, because he can not accept the idea of a God that allows so much violence and hate to exist in the province (129), and wants to make his life have value and significance: "Yo quiero hacer algo, algo para frenar la destrucción, ¡un gesto de amor!" (232). He achieves this when a guerrilla tries to murder the police lieutenant and

accidentally kills Manuel. Like Christ, Manuel dies on Good Friday and is buried on Easter. The penitents who carry the representation of Christ's body to the main plaza, take Manuel's body to his house (241-245). Like Christ, Manuel dies for others.

The priest reinforces the idea of Manuel's sacrifice and urges the congregation to use his tragic death as an inspiration to follow the Christian doctrine of love. He wants them to understand Manuel's death as a reflection of the evil in the province and to work so that Christ's teachings become reality:

> Estoy convencido que la fuerza que impulsó la bala contra Manuel no fue simplemente el apretón del gatillo por el dedo de otro joven yanacanchino, sino todas las injusticias y todos los pecados que hemos cometido, y los de nuestros antepasados, han tenido su parte que jugar. Esto es la presencia del mal entre nosotros. Ahora nos toca hacer más palpable la presencia del bien. Que el Cristo resucitado se haga vida, amor, justicia entre nosotros, y que nuestro monumento a Manuel no sea uno de piedra muerta, sino de nuestras vidas que deben ser las piedras vivas del gran templo de Dios. Reemplacemos las estructuras del pecado original con las de la gracia de Dios. (259)

Like Christ, Manuel dies for the people's sins, and his death results in a rebirth of optimism and faith in the city.

In the references about Catequil, an indigenous god of lightening, there is an implicit rejection of indigenous religious beliefs. In the beginning of the novel there is a mention of successive periods of religious domination: "Parecía que Catequil, el antiguo dios del rayo, por fin se

había levantado en rebelión contra el Sol incaico y la Trinidad cristiana que sucesivamente lo habían reemplazado" (14). The last sentence of the novel describes the priest's belief in his victory over the god: "El padre Alfonso respiró hondamente el aire andino y sabía que en su propia persona había vencido a Catequil" (259). Consequently, Catequil represents precolumbian religion and the present violence confronting Peru. In addition to quelling the violence, the priest fulfills one of the goals of the conquest, which is to suppress indigenous religions and to spread Christianity.

While he symbolically overcomes a pagan, violent religion, the characters who are examples of Christianity are not indigenous, but rather from the middle and upper class. Leonor and Manuel Verástegui belong to one of the most prominent families in the city. The young woman has the funds to travel from Trujillo to Yanacancha and pay for her food and lodging. It takes the death of the son of a prominent family to shock the middle and upper classes into following the Bible, but there is no mention of a similar transformation among the campesinos.

Conclusions

Miguel Garnett's novel attacks Peruvian society and argues that the solution for overcoming the corruption and violence is to follow the teachings of the New Testament.

Government officials are primarily interested in cronyism and maintaining their power. The police, with the implicit support of the socioeconomic elite, torture and kill innocent and guilty campesinos in a dirty war. The army covers up human rights abuses and tries to manipulate local affairs in the plot against the priest. The guerrillas follow a brutal schema that will not solve any problems. Within this atmosphere of corruption and violence, the novel argues that only Christian love will triumph. A major defect in the novel is that it only describes the catharsis in relation to the urban middle and upper classes and ignores the Indians. In conclusion, the novel criticizes corruption and violence in Peruvian society and argues that only Christianity can overcome these problems.

Luis Castro Padilla

Luis Castro Padilla was born in Chincha, Ica in 1923. Other than his ten years as a bullfighter, there is no further information about his professional career. In Saturnino Quispe (La guerrilla en el Perú) (1990) the overriding theme is the need for Peruvians to work together to overcome their problems and to progress. Unlike most of the other works, it is especially favorable toward the military and the APRA. Saturnino Quispe is a poor campesino who, through hard work and help from the government and military, progresses from being a poor farmer to become a

merchant and mayor. Army lieutenant Rincón is Saturnino's mentor and helps him in his development. The analysis of the novel centers on the narrative vision of various national governments, the army and Sendero Luminoso, and the supposedly replicable model of Saturnino Quispe for other campesinos.

Governments

The novel attacks previous governments for not initiating programs to help the campesinos and lays much of the blame for the region's poverty directly on the government. The narrator argues that with government aid and technical assistance the region would be very productive, but previous governments completely ignore the region. The narrator blames this on a lack of nationalism and brotherhood (16).

Lieutenant Fernando Rincón views the military government of Juan Velasco Alvarado (1968-75) and the civilian government of the APRA (1985-90) as progressive for the campesinos and for the country. He argues that the Velasco Alvarado government tries to correct many problems, and attacks the opposition for obstructing efforts to change the structures: "Estructuras obsoletas, que solamente eran buenas para sus intereses económicos. Siempre ha sido una oposición mal enfocada, ganas de molestar, y nada más" (56). He tells Saturnino that the country believes that the new

president from the APRA will lead the country toward progress. When Saturnino comments that the APRA has done nothing to help the area, Rincón says that it will take time (30-31). He contends that the government is doing everything that it can to alleviate the poverty in the zones afflicted by the guerrillas and will bring progress to the southern departments (40). One of Rincón's overriding themes is that the country is rich and that progress will occur if they unite and fight for the benefit of the country instead of killing (56).

The Army and Sendero Luminoso

The novel describes the army as an educator and a protector, and lieutenant Rincón as a healer. It teaches Saturnino to read and write (17), and to love and defend the country and flag (29). Early in the novel, the army's arrival prevents the guerrillas from killing more villagers (27). After an army patrol arrives in a village, they feel secure: "Se sentían protegidos con la llegada del ejército a esos lugares, que también fue atacado por los senderistas ocasionando luto y dolor entre sus habitantes" (61). The town of Sacracancha also feels protected by the army's presence (52). Lieutenant Rincón, a medical doctor, tells Saturnino that his role in the army is to heal the wounded, not to kill (33). In a battle with the guerrillas, he helps

the wounded, whether they are soldiers or guerrillas (46). He dies as he runs to aid a wounded corporal (89).

In contrast, Sendero Luminoso abuses and murders innocent campesinos. They attack Sacracancha and kill the mayor and other government officials in the main plaza (21). When their leader asks Saturnino his name, he calls the leader "paisano" (22). The guerrilla leader insults Saturnino and the others with racist slurs and threatens them with death if they do not collaborate:

> No me digas paisano, cholo "sopaipa guagua", dime camarada ¡ya!, ¿lo oyeron ustedes también? exclamó colérico el que hacía de jefe, y que no se les olvide, cholos piojosos, ya saben lo que les espera, lo que le pasó al alcalde y sus ayudantes, por no unirse a nuestro grupo. De ahora en adelante pasarán todos ustedes, carajo, a ser camaradas. (22)

They machine gun those that do not join them and set buildings on fire (23). An army patrol encounters six dead comuneros near a village with placards attached to their bodies, most saying that they are examples of what happens to traitors (44). The narrator criticizes the guerrillas for killing campesinos who are not aware of the reasons for the guerrilla war:

> Así, un pueblo más había sido atacado por los que creían que matando a gente, que en el fondo no sabían el por qué de tanto desorden y atropello. Lo único que sabían es que eran pobres que lo habían sido siempre, es por eso que no se unían al grupo de rebeldes. (44)

A little while later, the patrol finds subversive propaganda and pillaged food from the attacked village in a guerrilla camp (45).

Saturnino is very critical of Sendero Luminoso. He refuses to believe that are his brothers (17) and calls them "malos paisanos" (28). He condemns their alleged ties to drug trafficking and their exchanging coca for arms to kill their campesino brothers (51). He can not fathom why the guerrillas are fighting and thinks that they should wait for the near future when a benevolent government will improve their lives:

> Cómo era posible que sus hermanos cholos se mataran unos a otros...Era cierto que vivían extremadamente pobres, pero algún día vendrían los señores de la capital, y harían de la región un pueblo grande y próspero, todo consistía en que se lo propusieran con un poco de buena voluntad y nacionalismo. (17)

Instead of campesino efforts bringing about progress, Saturnino believes government benevolence will be the catalyst. He criticizes the bloodshed of the guerrilla war and argues that the guerrillas should be fighting for their country instead of killing their brothers (85).

Saturnino as a Campesino Model

The novel describes the relatively quick rise of Saturnino Quispe from a poor campesino to a small merchant and mayor as replicable. Throughout the novel there is no mention of communal structures and the emphasis is on

individual, not collective, effort, coupled with government help. His rise from poverty, intellectual development and acculturation, and selflessness are models for other campesinos.

In the first half of the novel there is an emphasis on the poverty of Saturnino Quispe. His land is very poor due to a lack of irrigation and fertilizer. Although he only has two hectares, his family manages to survive (11-12). In order to emphasize his poverty, the text uses choza instead of house: "su choza, ya que no se le podía llamar casa" (12), "Mi casa, respondió Saturnino, yo no tengo casa, Fernando, vivo en una choza" (28), and "más que choza, parecía de la época de la edad de piedra" (48). With the emphasis on his extreme poverty, his economic success is all the more extraordinary.

He rises from a poor smallholder to a petit bourgeois merchant. Nowhere in the novel is there a mention of his association with a communal agricultural system. Other than the occasional help of a neighbor who dies early in the novel, he and his family raise and harvest the crops, and Saturnino carries them to town on his back (11-20). He searches for better seeds to advance economically (21), is optimistic about the future and believes that the people in the region are progressing bit by bit (37). However, it is not through agriculture that he makes major economic strides. Rather, the government buys his land. That

economic windfall, coupled with his pay as an army guide, enables him to buy a small house in the city and to open a small shop. He pledges to practice a more benevolent form of capitalism than many merchants: "así podré comprar las cosechas a mis paisanos, y pagarles un precio mejor del que a mí me pagaron por mis cosechas" (87). While Saturnino is an extremely hardworking individual, his success is not directly related to his own efforts. Government programs designed to fight the guerrilla insurgency give him the luxury to abandon agriculture and to become a middleman between producers and consumers.

Along with economic progress, Saturnino develops his intellectual capabilities and becomes more acculturated into the part of Peru influenced by western ideas. As is the case of his economic success, the government plays a pivotal role in his intellectual development and begins the process of his assimilation into the western nation-state. The army teaches him to read and write (17) and to love and defend his country and flag (29). Through his individual effort, he continues reading and thinking, and comments to lieutenant Rincón that he is progressing: "Como ves, me estoy culturizando" (82). This becoming more cultured is understood as assimilation in western-influenced Peru, not within the indigenous portion.

He is an exemplary, selfless character, interested only in helping others. He agrees to be a guide for army patrols

looking for guerrillas under the stipulation that he will not kill anyone (33). His motivations for being a guide are selfless: "Su único fin, como ya lo había pensado, era que todo terminara, que ya no hubiera más muertes, ni bandidaje que lo único que hacía era ocasionar más atraso y pobreza en la región, para su tierra y para sus paisanos" (53). Before being an army guide, he is a relative unknown in Sacracancha, but he becomes a more important person for the townspeople, who are grateful that he and the army protect them against the guerrillas (52-53). His esteem in the town is such that they elect him mayor by the end of the novel. Once again, his goals as mayor are selfless: "había prometido solemnemente seguir con el progreso que ahora se vislumbraba" (90).

Saturnino is an example of the potential of the indigenous peoples. Lieutenant Rincón views him as a model: "Cuántos miles o quizá millones de Saturninos Quispes, habrán (sic) en estas zonas de los Andes o en otras partes de nuestra América de habla hispana" (85). Near the end of the novel, the narrator reiterates the point, saying that the indigenous peoples:

> habían permanecido olvidadas por la incuria de quienes antes gobernaron al país, un país donde sus antepasados habían forjado una cultura que muy pocos países habían tenido, una raza que no se extinguiría fácilmente, cuando hay gente buena, patriota y honrada, para beneficio y beneplácito de las futuras generaciones orgullosas de su abolengo. (89-90)

Conclusions

Castro Padilla's novel argues that the government is addressing previous wrongs and that campesinos like Saturnino Quispe can help themselves and the country progress, but Sendero Luminoso is the principal obstacle. They abuse and kill innocent campesinos who do not comprehend or want their war. While previous governments ignore the region, the APRA government is continuing with the progress initiated during the Velasco Alvarado government. In contrast to the description of the army in most of the other texts analyzed in the dissertation, it is a protector and healer. Saturnino is an example of the potential of the combination of the individual initiative of campesinos and correct government programs. There can be similar results on a much grander scale. However, the novel completely ignores the collective traditions usually associated with campesinos in the sierra. Unlike most indigenous characters in the texts analyzed in this dissertation, Saturnino is not part of a community, is only exploited by the guerrillas and his assimilation into western-society is almost effortless. Whether other campesinos from the southern region of Peru can replicate his model is debateable.

Mario Vargas Llosa

Born in Arequipa in 1936, Mario Vargas Llosa is Peru's most famous living writer. In his latest novel, Lituma en los Andes (1993), two policemen are in an isolated camp for highway construction workers in the Andes. During the day Lituma, a corporal, and his subordinate, Tomás Carreño, try to unravel the mystery surrounding the disappearance of three men from the camp. At night Tomás tells Lituma about his lost love, who returns to him at the end of the novel. The atmosphere is tense and the two policemen wait for the guerrillas to come kill them. While there is abundant description of abuses committed by the guerrillas and, to a lesser extent, the police, the novel centers on the disappearance of the three men. A couple convinces the workers to sacrifice them to placate the spirits in the mountains. Unlike the other novels and short stories analyzed in the dissertation, Vargas Llosa's novel is extremely critical of the sierra and its inhabitants. In fact, a reader could conclude that the violence associated with the guerrilla war is only the tip of the iceberg in a region characterized by uncivilized, superstitious and barbarous people. The analysis will examine the violence of the guerrillas and the police before turning to the narrative description of the sierra inhabitants and the human sacrifices.

The Guerrilla War

The novel describes Sendero Luminoso as illogical and brutal. In spite of receiving protection money, the guerrillas attack and loot a mine twice, killing one man and injuring another (147-49). During a popular trial they incite a village to accuse each other of crimes and to murder various fellow villagers (77-80). In two episodes the guerrillas kill people not directly involved in the violence. The first is a French couple and the second is a naturalized Peruvian environmentalist. When they stop a bus in Andahuaylas, the French couple believes they are safe because they are foreign tourists. They do not pay attention to the tourists' pleas and kill them and a Peruvian with rocks (17-25). Another example of their brutality is a massacre of vicuñas protected in a reserve, where they dynamite two babies at the side of their dead mother. They explain to the reserve's guard that they do not enjoy killing the animals, but they are following orders. The rationale is that imperialists create the reserve for their own benefit and give Peruvians the role of raising vicuñas (52-57).

Hortensia d'Harcourt, a famous environmentalist, believes that her work is not political and that she runs little risk from the guerrillas. Born in a Baltic country, she has spent some forty years in Peru (119). In addition to books, articles and conferences, she writes a column for

the newspaper, El Comercio. She and a government engineer are developing a project funded by foundations and foreign countries to reforest the sierra around Huancavelica. In spite of going into an area that the guerrillas call liberated territory, she refuses a military escort (107-11). Indignant, she argues that her work is non political:

> No somos políticos ni tenemos nada que ver con la política, comandante. Nuestra preocupación es la naturaleza, el medio ambiente, los animales, las plantas. No servimos a este gobierno, sino al Perú. A todos los peruanos. A los militares y también a esas cabezas locas. (111)

In fact, the novel repeatedly emphasizes her argument of not being political. She argues that she will be safe three times and that her work is not political no less than seven times, a frequency of almost once every page and a half (106-121).

When the guerrillas arrive, they question them, and kill four of the five in the group. They do not listen to their explanations that they are not their enemies. A guerrilla tells her that she is completely unaware of being an instrument of imperialism and the bourgeois state, and is a typical case of intellectuals that betray their country. He criticizes her for having the gall to believe that she is a good samaritan and says that she is working for the dominant classes, not the environment. When officials accompany her and newspapers publicize her trips, the government wins a battle. The newspapers do not mention that the area is liberated territory and the photos show

everything as peaceful. They free the driver and kill two technicians, the engineer, and her (117-22).

While there is no mention of military abuse, the police torture innocent people and disappear prisoners. When they investigate the guerrilla massacre of vicuñas, they find Pedro Tinoco, who does not talk to them. They begin to burn him with matches and lighters, beginning with his feet and can smell the flesh burn. They quit when a policeman recognizes him and says that he is mentally retarded and mute and is not a guerrilla. The police feel badly, try to cure him, and take up a collection for him (69-70). When an informer wants money in exchange for information, Lituma says that he has no money. He states that if he calls his superiors and asks for money, they will tell him to torture the informer until he talks by cutting off one testicle at a time (99-100). When the police investigate the massacre in Andamarca, they steal everything of value and disappear nine villagers associated with Sendero Luminoso (83-85). However, the prominence of Lituma and Tomás Carreño in the novel softens the criticism. The workers in the camp like them. A character tells Lituma that he is a good person and that few policemen are (100).

While the novel's criticism of the police is tempered, it describes Sendero Luminoso as brutal and illogical. The police loot and disappear nine villagers in Andamarca. They are remorseful for torturing Pedro Tinoco and Lituma does

not torture or threaten the informer. He and Tomás Carreño never abuse the peons. While the police are both brutal and compassionate, the guerrillas are very cruel. Characters see no logic in their murdering the French tourists and the environmentalist and her entourage. The novel emphasizes the environmentalist's argument that she is working for the benefit of everyone, but the ecoterrorists do not listen. They work against the two environmental projects in the novel, the reforestation and the vicuña reserve.

The Sierra Population and Human Sacrifices

In the novel the sierra population is distant. One of the French tourists believes that the Indians are impenetrable. In Lima, he can converse in spite of his poor Spanish, but in the mountains no one will speak to him and communication is impossible (19-20). This distance is not just reserved for foreigners. Pedro Tinoco is from the sierra, but not from the community where he lives. They treat him well, but they never completely accept him: "Los comuneros lo trataban con respeto y distancia, conscientes de que, por más que compartiera sus trabajos y sus fiestas, no era uno de ellos" (49).

During the guerrilla popular trial in Andamarca, the easily susceptible villagers work themselves into a frenzy, compete in a contest of victimization, and cruelly murder

many of their fellow villagers.[4] Instead of the guerrillas, it is the villagers who kill those found guilty with their hands and rocks. After murdering those on the guerrillas' list, they urge the villagers to name others guilty of abuses. Whipped into a frenzy, they accuse, judge and punish around twenty people (77-80). The narrator suggests that the villagers are not accusing guilty people: "¿Cuántas acusaciones eran ciertas, cuántas inventos dictados por la envidia y el rencor, producto de la efervescencia en la que todos se sentían empujados a competir, revelando las crueldades e injusticias de que habían sido víctimas?" (80). Easily swayed, they compete in a contest of victimization and exact revenge for petty jealousies. The rotting bodies remain unburied in the plaza, covered with flies and buzzards. Only when an authority (the police) arrives and orders them to bury the dead, do they act. When they ask why the cadavers are still there, the villagers do not know what to answer (81-83). The narrator explains it as superstition: "paralizados por un supersticioso temor a atraer de nuevo a la milicia o desatar otra catástrofe" (83). In this section the narrator

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[4] In Quechua Andamarca means pueblo cobrizo. Anta means copper or coppery and marka means pueblo or an elevated part. Pueblo can refer to a village or its inhabitants. Places that begin with anda or anta are common in Peru. It is unclear if Vargas Llosa intentionally chose this name to distinguish the color of the skin of the village's inhabitants or if it is only a coincidence. However, it is another example of the novel's distinguishing the sierra inhabitants from supposedly more civilized peoples.

not only describes the campesinos as brutal murders, but also intervenes to interpret them as superstitious and full of envy and rancor.

Lituma is from the coast and thinks that the people of the sierra are inferior and brutal. The sounds of a woman speaking Quechua are "música bárbara" (11). He insinuates that they are not intelligent when he describes the inexpressive faces and eyes of the peons in the camp of Naccos: "las caras inexpresivas, los ojitos glaciales" (12). He has difficulty differentiating among the peons because they all come from the same mold (66) and old people look like dwarfs or children (99). There is even a comparison of them to animals. After a landslide ends the highway construction, there is "miedo animal" in their eyes (225). He thinks that the sierra is hellish because of its inhabitants: "La sierra es infernal, Tomasito. No me extraña, con tanto serrucho" (71). He often uses the insulting term, serruchos. He understands the violence as solely between the people of the sierra and having nothing to do with the coast: "¿Qué hacía en medio de la puna, entre serruchos hoscos y desconfiados que se mataban por la política y, para colmo, desaparecían? ¿Por qué no estaba en su tierra?" (13-14).

For him, the people of the sierra are uncivilized, superstitious and barbaric. The sierra is an uncivilized place with primitive people who have beliefs that no one in

a civilized place has (104). He assumes that Indians who live in the mountains like their ancestors are barbaric, but he does not understand why the peons are similar, because they have various non indigenous influences (204-5). All Andean people are superstitious: "todos los serruchos son unos supersticiosos que creen en diablos, pishtacos y mukis" (145).[5] When he realizes that the peons are responsible for the human sacrifice of the three disappeared men, he reacts with various racist epithets: "¡Serranos de mierda! ¡Supersticiosos, idólatras, indios de mierda, hijos de la grandísima puta!" (203). He comments that the human sacrifices are cruel, but he also adds that there are many other barbarities that occur there: "eso que les pasó es lo más estúpido y lo más perverso de todas las cosas estúpidas y perversas que pasan aquí" (261). He thinks that the people in the sierra are so backward that civilized people can not understand what is occurring: "Es como si ese par de salvajes estuvieran teniendo razón y los civilizados no. Saber leer y escribir, usar saco y corbata, haber ido al colegio y vivido en la ciudad, ya no sirve. Sólo los brujos entienden lo que pasa" (188-89). In addition to Lituma's

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[5] The novel describes pishtacos as people from outside the region, often foreigners, who prey on solitary travelers and remove their fat (67). It also mentions sacaojos (185-89). For more information, see Alberto Flores Galindo, "Demonios y degolladores: el discurso de los colonizados," Márgenes 5-6, (1989) 121-33, and Pishtacos: de verdugos a sacaojos, Ed. Juan Ansión, Lima: Tarea, 1989.

belief that the sierra is barbarous, he considers the coast a bastion of civilization.

Conversations with a humanities professor and engineers in a nearby mine reinforce Lituma's conceptions of the Indians and mestizos in the sierra as superstitious and cruel. The professor has impressive credentials. From Denmark, after thirty years of study of the Peruvian sierra, he is the author of many books and articles. He also speaks perfect Spanish, two dialects of Quechua and some Aymara (173-75). In this way the novel uses the fallacy of authority to convince Lituma, and possibly the reader, of the barbarity of the ancient Peruvian peoples in the sierra, and, by extension, those in the present. The professor tells Lituma that apus are gods or spirits in the mountains that decide life and death. An engineer summarizes what the professor has told him before about the human sacrifices of the huancas and the chancas. They sacrificed men, women and children to keep the apus content before altering the course of a river, opening a road or constructing a temple or fort. The professor does not dispute the version, but he contends that all ancient civilizations are cruel and intolerant according to modern perspectives. He believes that they were a religious people and the sacrifices were their way of assuring their survival and showing respect to the spirits. He says that it is a myth that the Incas were tolerant conquerors and adopted the gods of the conquered. He states

that, as is the case with all empires, the Incas were brutal with those that did not submissively capitulate and that they practically removed the huancas and chancas from history. They destroyed their cities and scattered them throughout the empire, and nothing remains of their beliefs, customs or language. He adds that modern historians have little sympathy for them because they helped the Spanish against the Incas, with the result of the Spanish being more severe with them than the Incas were (173-80). In relating the ancient violence to the present, an engineer wonders if the contemporary violence is "una resurreción de toda esa violencia expozada" (178).

In conclusion, the narrator and characters in the novel help sustain the thesis that the sierra inhabitants are impenetrable, inferior, uncivilized, superstitious and barbarous. In contrast with the people of Lima, understood as civilization, the campesinos refuse to talk to the French tourists. Comuneros do not accept Pedro Tinoco even though he is from the sierra. The villagers of Andamarca are petty, jealous, and easily swayed. They brutally murder fellow villagers and are so superstitious that they do not bury the bodies. For Lituma, Quechua is a barbarous sounding language, and he associates them with a lack of intelligence, children, and animals. The influence of western civilization does little to civilize them and only witches can understand what occurs in the sierra.

The structure of the novel makes the conversation in the mine a key element in the thesis that the people in the sierra are uncivilized. There are two parts and an epilogue in the novel. The description of the French tourists, Pedro Tinoco's lack of acceptance in the community, the Andamarca massacre and most of Lituma's thoughts occur in the first part. These and other episodes establish the idea of the Indians and their descendants as uncivilized and brutal. The second part begins with a professor with impressive credentials arguing that ancient peoples of Peru were cruel and intolerant. He adds that no civilization from that era can withstand judgments based on modern ideologies. The second part also deals with Lituma's continuing efforts to unravel the mystery of the disappearance of the three men. In the epilogue a camp worker confirms Lituma's theory that the camp peons sacrifice the three men. In this way, the conversation in the mine adds intellectual weight to the idea of barbarous ancient Peruvian civilizations. The human sacrifices are confirmation that the primitive nature of the Indians and their descendants continues.

Dionisio and Adriana, described as witches, are the owners of the only bar in Naccos. Both are filthy. He is fat, has greasy hair and always wears the same blue sweater (66). When she is talking to Lituma, she raises her dirty dress and blows her nose in it (42). Before the guerrilla war, Dionisio travels throughout the central sierra with a

troupe of musicians, dancers, and women. There are all sorts of rumors that he is a demon, angel or god (241-44), and his nickname in Quechua is "comedor de carne cruda" (191). After hearing of her taking part in killing a pishtaco, he believes that they are destined for each other and asks her to marry him. In order to communicate with his dead mother, a cemetery guard forces him to agree to return to have sex with him before consummating his marriage. When they return and find out that he is dead, Dionisio has intercourse with his corpse. They continue touring until the troupe disintegrates due to the guerrilla war (142-48). In their bar in Naccos, Adriana reads the future with cards, palms, and coca leaves (38).

She tells the peons that in the past Naccos is a happy and prosperous place because the villagers sacrifice humans to the spirits in the mountains. The women sacrifice a man, elected the year before, who is considered a hero. The village maintains an equilibrium and does not suffer like the present residents of Naccos. She explains the present afflictions as the result of angry spirits and warns them that worse things will happen if there is no human sacrifice (269-75).

At the end of the novel, a peon tells Lituma what happens to the three disappeared men. Dionisio and Adriana convince them that sacrificing the three is the only way to keep their jobs and to avoid other maladies. The peon says

they kill the men, have a form of communion and eat part of the bodies (308-311).

Conclusions

The novel describes Sendero Luminoso as illogical and barbaric. They view everything in black and white, do not listen to rational arguments, and cruelly murder various victims. While the deaths of Peruvians are tragic, the novel uses the French tourists, the environmentalist, and the vicuñas to emphasize the thesis of Sendero Luminoso's depravity. Perhaps Vargas Llosa determines that the couple is from France, a country often associated with civilization, to contrast them with the barbarity of the guerrillas. This idea continues with the case of the environmentalist. While she believes that her work will benefit all Peruvians and repeatedly argues that she is impartial, she dies at the hands of the guerrillas. The most innocent victims are the vicuñas.

The novel is unique in comparison with the other texts studied because of its thesis that the guerrillas are just one element in an uncivilized region with superstitious and violent people. Lituma, other characters and the narrator describe and criticize the Indians and their descendants as primitive, superstitious, violent and cruel. The mute, mentally retarded Pedro Tinoco survives the guerrilla massacre of the vicuñas and police torture, but he does not

survive the human sacrifice by people from the sierra. The first part of the novel describes various negative aspects of the sierra population and postulates that they also commit human sacrifices. The conversation in the mine adds intellectual weight to the thesis and the epilogue confirms that the camp peons sacrifice three men. The first paragraph of the novel describes an Indian woman without teeth, who spits when she speaks Quechua. In the first page Lituma does not understand her, and by extension the indigenous world. He thinks that Quechua, the primary language of the indigenous population, sounds like barbarous music. Throughout the novel Lituma struggles to understand the mystery behind the disappearance of the three men. In the last three pages a camp worker confirms his hypothesis that they sacrifice the three. Earlier in the novel Lituma can not understand how the workers, with influences from outside the indigenous world, can be so barbaric. It is plausible that after reading the novel a reader would conclude that the Peruvian sierra is such a primitive place that the Sendero Luminoso guerrilla war is just a small aspect of a region characterized by violence and a lack of civilization.

CHAPTER 5
VIOLENCE AND RELATIONS OF POWER IN SELECTED SHORT STORIES FROM THE 1980S AND 1990S

Chapter 4 analyzes forty-one short stories by ten writers. The order follows a general line of more of an emphasis on violence and relations of power related to campesinos to more of a preoccupation with the guerrilla war.

Cecilia Granadino

The four short stories in Cecilia Granadino's Con harta vergüenza (1990) depict the government variously as ineffective, indifferent and hostile to the campesino while their collective structures are positive. Usually, hardworking campesinos confront obstacles thrown in their way by the government.

In "¡Señor ministro lo mató!" campesinos working on an irrigation canal quickly realize that the government is exploiting them and that the project will not benefit them. The completion date changes due to the imminent arrival of a government minister and they have to work thirteen hours a day for the same pay. They realize that the beneficiaries will be the large landowners, not the community. On his way

to a community meeting, a fatigued campesino loses control of his bicycle and dies (43-52).

"Dos zorros bajan por hatunwayq'o" criticizes an ineffective government program that offers loans for buying seeds and technical support. A young childless couple, forced to eat their seeds due to hunger, applies for a loan. Unfamiliar with the hybrid seed potatoes, they try to exchange them, but have to accept everything in the package. Without technical support to teach them about the cultivation of the potatoes, they plant them and hope for success. During the growing season they suffer a freeze, hail, and little rain (11-16). The husband complains that the alien potato is not suitable for the region: "Esa papa no sabe quechua, no conoce nuestras penas, rapidito se ha muerto sin pelear" (17). Losing their crops and without the money to pay for the loan, they abandon their property and begin a life of banditry (18-19).

"Disculpa compadre, la indiscreción" also highlights conflicts, based primarily in competing ideologies, between government programs and the needs and desires of campesinos. A white government engineer and Bonifacio, a campesino, have various disagreements that highlight problems between communities and the government.

The first conflict is private versus communal property. The engineer contends that individual landowners work harder than campesinos in a community, because in the latter no one

is an owner. He cites Bonifacio as an example of the success of individual effort. He replies that his parcel of land is a windfall, a gift from his wife's godmother. His success is not due to his individual effort or because he feels like a landowner, but rather his learning about irrigation from Italians on the coast. For Bonifacio, the community comes first. For example, he is teaching his fellow comuneros how to irrigate. The young men of the area, all of whom are educated, are organizing and are in the process of recovering stolen communal lands (33-35). Rather than individual efforts, Bonifacio argues that collective efforts are how he and others will progress.

He also rejects the engineer's idea that failures of government programs and agrarian reforms are the fault of the campesino. The white engineer complains that Indians are drunks, lazy, ignorant, mentally retarded, and hurt the economy (36). Bonifacio counters that agrarian reform is meaningless without technical assistance:

> Sabrá disculpar mi ignorancia, pero mire: la cosa no es así. A ver, si yo le doy un avión y no le enseño a manejarlo, no le doy gasolina, ni le presto plata para sus tornillos y sus cosas del avión, y después de un tiempo le digo: "Mira ¡qué bruto!... te he dado un avión y no has hecho nada..." ¿le gustaría? Así fue, pues, la reforma. (36)

He adds that communities have to overcome many obstacles. They are forced to higher lands that are not good, banks do not lend them money, and they have no control over the price of crops. He also believes that the government does not

want them to learn to read, because the community has to build its own school (36-37).

Upon hearing his rebuttal, the engineer implies that Bonifacio may be a communist. He explains that the communists will take his land and make him work for the State (37). He responds that it does not matter, because he is already exploited: "'Si es para el bien de todos, ¿por qué no, señor? No me asusta. ¿Qué hago yo mismito sino trabajar para que coman otros y mal pagado?', yo también chillando. 'Patrón sólo ha cambiado su cara, mismo jodidos estamos'" (37). After the engineer insults him again, Bonifacio says that the Indians are going to change everything and that they may follow the example of Fidel Castro (38).

"Con harta vergüenza" insists on the need for communities to work together and to remain united. A community advances through the efforts of a campesino, who is always thinking about ways to improve their lives. For example, he spends five years building terraces to farm and finds ants that will eat worms in the fields. Seeing the results, others follow his example. His biggest project is to unite the community to get a fairer price for their crops. He urges everyone to join a nationwide strike that will prevent food from getting to the cities. After two days of religious festivities, no one heeds his call to obstruct the highway. Alone, he blocks it and fights off

truck drivers until they shoot and kill him. It is only then that the other campesinos learn the lesson that they need to work together to survive. They continue his work and keep the highway blocked (23-29).

These four short stories argue that the campesino must unite within communal structures to overcome the many obstacles facing them and to progress. In every short story the community is attacked, directly or indirectly, and kept in an inferior situation. They lose much of their good land, banks are reluctant to give them loans and they have no control over the price of crops. The government exploits cheap campesino labor to help the rich, not the communities. Government programs and agrarian reforms often have the negative effect of worsening the situation of the campesinos. The short stories describe these government programs as ineffective halfway measures that can force them into debt. The engineer in "Disculpa compadre, la indiscreción" reflects western ideas of the preeminence of individual property. As Marie-Chantal Barre argued in the first chapter, most government programs favor individual property over communal property, in the process debilitating communal structures. The prescriptions in the short stories are two. The first is a strong valorization of the community. It is within this context that Cecilia Granadino argues that the campesinos can flourish. The second is the

threat of revolution if the government does nothing to alleviate the exploitation of the campesino.

Andrés Díaz Núñez

Andrés Díaz Núñez, a professor of literature at the Universidad Nacional Pedro Ruiz Gallo de Lambayeque, was born in Cajamarca in 1943. In addition to poetry, he has published at least three narrative works since 1979, including the eleven short stories from Paredes de viento (1988). In one a hospital refuses to admit a poor woman and the other deals with an abusive landowner.

In "Flor herida," a hospital denies a family medical help because they have no money and no insurance. After difficulty giving birth at home and getting a bad infection, a woman's family takes her to the hospital. A hospital official asks the husband if she is covered and he replies that she is covered by blankets. Thinking it is a joke, the official calls him a brutish Indian, and asks if she is covered by Social Security. Since they have no insurance and no money, the official makes them leave. A teacher and a midwife help her, but maggots appear in the wound. The husband complains that hospitals, doctors and pharmacies are useless when the poor can not use them. He says that he is going to the pharmacy to get medicine forcibly, and never returns. She finally recovers when a neighbor's son cures her (9–15).

In the macabre "Duende desnudo," there is violent suppression of a land seizure and a landowner's denial that a young campesino girl is human. After working many years for free on his hacienda, the peons want the landowner to give them land for houses and crops. He refuses, they seize the land, and many peons die in the ensuing battle with the police. One woman lies down beside her dead husband, pretends she is dead, and throws rocks at the police commander when he approaches. Mortally wounded, she flees and survives one day (20-22).

The remainder of the short story emphasizes the extreme inhumanity of the landowner. The dead woman's daughter tries to breast feed, oblivious that, instead of milk, she is eating maggots. She makes friends with animals and finds enough food to survive until a worker from the hacienda finds her. He takes her to see the landowner, who believes that she is a naked ghost. Although his wife and others argue that she is human, he insists on tying her a tree and forces everyone to pray that God does not let other ghosts come. After they finally convince him that she is human, he allows her to have some food. She does not eat all of it, and mountains of ants come to eat the food. The ants go to the house, eat out his eyes and tongue and carry him off (20-26).

In both short stories Díaz Núñez condemns different standards for the rich and abuses of the poor. The rich

have access to medical care and the police violently support a landowner's property in spite of years of exploiting his workers. While the woman recovers from her infection, her family disintegrates, probably leaving them even poorer. While animals befriend the young girl, the superstitious landowner, in a metaphor of his treatment of campesinos, denies her humanity. While humans can not retaliate, nature does.

Julián Pérez

Julián Pérez, the younger brother of the Sendero Luminoso ideologue Hildebrando Pérez Huarancca, was born in Ayacucho in 1954. First published in 1984, the 1990 edition of Transeúntes adds three new short stories to the nine in the 1984 edition. The eight studied describe a system that abuses the campesino. In a few the victims are passive, but most choose to resist. This resistance ranges from fleeing, directly confronting a landowner, joining the Communist party or fighting with Sendero Luminoso.

"El tiempo y el viento" argues that migration to the cities improves nothing, because the exploitation is even worse than in the countryside. A boy's mother sends him to the city because she can not provide for two small children. She tells him that he will avoid the poverty and abuses of the village: "ya no serás pisoteado como yo ni por las carencias ni por los mentados de este pueblo" (23). She

believes that he will find a good job and will return with money and better Spanish. While he holds various jobs in Ica, marries and has children, instead of his mother's fantasy about the city, he only sees poverty, misery, and injustices for the poor (23-24). He views cities as hellish: "todo lo que sabes del infierno que son las ciudades" (24).

In "¿Teteraré, señorita?" there is a form of poetic justice for a racist teacher in a village. She believes that her students are "burros cimarrones" and twists their ears or hits them on the buttocks when they make mistakes (39). Once the school year ends, she wants to leave the village immediately: "esa población de imbéciles e ignorantes que olían a coca y a polvo" (40). One of her students accompanies her on the two-day journey to Huamanga, where she, a virgin, will marry. When they camp, she is afraid of wild animals and the student trying to rape her. Thirsty, he decides to get water (40-41). He needs the kettle (<u>teterita</u>) and asks, "¿Teteraré, señorita? ¿Señorita, teteraré?" (42). She does not understand him, and he repeats the question many times. When she tells him to come over, he expects her to give him the <u>teterita</u>. Afraid of the animals, she grabs him by the hand, pulls him into her bed, and they have sex. Still thirsty the next morning, he repeatedly asks her if she wants water (<u>teteraré</u>) (42-43). She does not understand, calls him a

godless Indian, twists his ear and tells him: "Habla en castellano, en cristiano, chuto, indio perro, habla sin quechua, motoso" (43). Cowered, he explains that he is asking if she wants water. She finally realizes that teteraré refers to teterita, not having sex with her (te tiraré) (43).

Two other short stories criticize powerful landowners. In "En el trabajo," the narrator, probably slightly mentally retarded, describes don Teófilo's abuses. He kicks the narrator, hits his wife and forces her to have sex. He cripples one of his workers and is responsible for the death of another man's mule. While the narrator does not resist the landowner, he is certain there will be justice in the future. He says that he is an evil man and will go to Hell when he dies (44-46). In "Nuevamente en el pueblo" a man returns from military service and enlists the help of his godfather to force an engaged woman to marry him. Her father accepts the proposal because he has debts with the influential landowner: "El ronca fuerte en estas quebradas y el viejo Jacinto tiene sus cuentitas con él, por eso ya no hay más'" (15). She and her boyfriend flee to a coastal city to escape the wedding and the landowner's power (16-18).

"La batalla que perdió el viejo" also criticizes a landowner's vast power, but an old man vows to be his nemesis until he dies. In a town meeting the old man tells

the landowner that they will always oppose each other: "Con sus tenencias y su dinero usted, engañando y acostumbrado a pisotearnos y nosotros no estamos para tragarnos sus aspavientos" (11). The landowner uses the police to silence the old man. On his way to a town meeting about a proposed highway, the police kick and arrest him. Rather than being angry with them, he feels compassion for them because they do not realize that they are serving the landowner: "Pueden hacer lo que quieren, pobres inocentes sois, canallas que patean sin saber a quién sirven" (12). He knows that the landowner will pass out aguardiente and coca to the villagers before the meeting (11). Public employees will argue for the project and will say that the landowner is nothing short of a saint: "don Juan es hijo de Dios, tiene razón en todo lo que hace y lo que dice" (12). The village approves the highway project and the police free the old man. As he predicts, free campesino labor builds the highway, but, conveniently, the government budget runs out as it reaches the landowner's mines and never extends to the town. The old man loses one battle in a war, but he vows to continue opposing the landowner (12-13).

"Transeúntes" describes a man's political evolution and his imprisonment for his political activities. He joins the APRA while in the army and the police arrest him after the APRA takes over the city of Ayacucho in 1936 (34-35). The police kill his two dogs before they arrest him. His wife

protests their treatment of him and says that he is not a common criminal (33-35). A police officer hits her in the face, kicks her in the buttocks and tells her: "¡Cállate, cojuda, mujer de aprista asqueroso!" (33). When she tries to find her husband, officials deny any knowledge of him (33). He becomes disillusioned with the APRA and argues that they lack a doctrine: "Los apristas son cosa seria. Se asustan rápido cuando la gente del pueblo empieza a emprender grandes acciones. Y todo lo joden con sus famosas contraórdenes. Y eso es prueba, según mi parecer, de que carecen de una doctrina" (35). During his six years in jail, he becomes a communist. Two months after he gets out of prison, he dies (35).

In "Camino largo" Justina, a student, joins the guerrillas. She is from a poor family, is the only one who remains in school, and becomes passionate when she refers to the poor. When she is in jail for being a guerrilla, her parents try to free her, but they have no money to pay bribes. In less than a month she escapes when there is a guerrilla attack on the Ayacucho prison.[1] The repressive forces appear in Justina's village and she flees to the mountains. Her parents die because of worrying about her. The next time her brothers see her, she is dead (58-62).

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[1] This probably is the attack on the Ayacucho prison in 1982 that freed many guerrillas.

"Los alzados" emphasizes the process of a man who suffers abuses, becomes politically aware, and joins the guerrillas. In indigenista texts there is often a contrast between an idyllic past and a turbulent present, but Pérez inverts this scheme. Instead of describing the utopian past of the campesinos, he contrasts the past where landowners have carte blanche with Sendero Luminoso's armed struggle in the present:

> Los días eran tranquilos en el pueblo. Esos días de felicidad de los ricos que para los pobres nunca hubo. Muchos años antes que aparecieran los hombres armados que fueron "veneno" para los principales. Aquellos lejanos días en que los mandones imponían sus caprichos en los cabildos públicos, amenazando, gritando o valiéndose de los gendarmes. Hombre, animal o piedra que se oponía a su querer, encendía la cólera del mentado y al encontrarse de cara con él, quienes se atrevieron a enfrentarse, salían reventados todos para toda la vida. (52)

Salustio Mallki is a good man who will not stand for abuses of others. After a heated argument with don Juan de Dios Melgar, the most powerful man in town, he humiliates Salustio and labels him a renegade. Villagers warn him that the landowner will seek revenge and he waits. One night he and his wife believe there is someone watching them and Salustio throws a rock and kills him. They flee to Ica, where he finds work in the coastal haciendas and his wife and son die from malaria. When he returns alone to the village, the landowner and priest have taken over his land and house for the church. He also finds out that instead of killing a man, it is a puma (524-56).

On the coast and after his return to his village, Salustio gains a greater political consciousness and joins the guerrillas. In the coast, "supo allí lo que eran las penas, también de la debilidad y de la fuerza del pobre y de los mandones" (55). After learning that the church now possesses his house and land, he realizes that what has happened to him is the result of unequal relations of power:

> pero comprendió --ya tenía claridad en la razón--, que todo eso no había sido sólo por cosas del destino sino por la existencia de poderosos, de hombres sin alma ni corazón que al fin de cuentas, eran unos cuantos dentro de los confines de la tierra. (56)

When the guerrillas come to the village and kill Juan de Dios Melgar, Salustio gets an old rifle and joins them. He is now full of hope about the future, where principals will no longer have power (56-57).

In conclusion, these short stories criticize the system that exploits the campesino and describe various ways that they resist. Abject poverty forces a boy to migrate to the city, but the exploitation of the poor is similar to that in rural areas. The racist teacher believes the campesinos are inferior and treats them like animals. Landowners control almost every aspect of the lives of campesinos. However, most of the characters resist. One believes that God will condemn a landowner, a couple flees their village, and the old man vows to oppose the landowner until he dies. Another first believes in the APRA and then joins the Communist party. In the last two short stories, the protagonists

believe that the only way to change the system is through Sendero Luminoso's armed struggle. While describing the exploitation of the campesino, these short stories focus on their resistance.

Sócrates Zuzunaga Huaita

A literature professor, Sócrates Zuzunaga Huaita was born in Pauza, Ayacucho in 1954. His only published book is Con llorar no se gana nada (1988). In most short stories the strong social criticism centers on sexual violence both within the campesino class and between classes. Another deals with a military massacre.

Three stories examine the results of rape and infidelity within the campesino class. The innocent suffer the worst consequences, which is often death, and the social order is unable or unwilling to maintain order. When it does punish, innocent people are the victims and the perpetrators go free.

Two short stories deal with rape within the campesino class. "Por la que una es capaz" criticizes the societal ostracism of a rape victim. Leaving her best friend's birthday party with her boyfriend, a group of young boys beat them and rape her. When she gets pregnant, her boyfriend abandons her, the neighborhood shuns her, and her parents kick her out of the house. A friend from high school, a prostitute, allows her to stay in her house. Only

fourteen years old and with a baby, she begins to drink and to be promiscuous. One night some customers get into a fight and kill her son (40-42). "Una tarde de ayer" also centers around a rape. Some children see a man having sex with a cow and start calling him Vaca Tisti, or one who has sexual intercourse with cows. Some time later Panchuko Taype notifies the town about the rape of a nine year old girl. He blames Vaca Tisti, leads the townspeople to confront him, and strangles him. The girl tells the narrator that after Panchuko Taype rapes her, he threatens her if she does not blame Vaca Tisti (20-22).

In both short stories society is unable to render effective justice. It disowns a rape victim, she is forced into prostitution, and her innocent baby dies as a consequence of her abandonment. As is often the case, they treat her as though the rape were her fault. Her rapists, on the other hand, remain unpunished. In the second story society does perform a form of justice, but it is mob justice that punishes an innocent person. As in the previous story, there are two victims: the young girl and Vaca Tisti. In addition to suffering the trauma of the rape, she knows that her attacker is free and may return at any time and that she has condemned an innocent man to his death. In both short stories society fails to maintain order.

"Sombra de uno nomás es la duda" examines the results of infidelity. A young man is the sole support of his mother and three younger siblings. One day he surprises his girlfriend, with whom he lives, in bed with his younger brother. There is a brief fight and the younger brother shouts that she belongs to him. The older brother begins to laugh hysterically and the other two leave. When the police arrive to arrest him for killing them, he does not try to explain that they have committed suicide, because it appears as though he is guilty. The story ends with his telling the police official that he is not crying for his girlfriend, but rather for his family, who will be without financial support (16-18). Once again, society errs in administering justice.

"Este espino que nos jode" criticizes the lack of compassion of the rich. El Tovar is a crazy mulatto. His condition is due to incest and he frequently finds himself in embarrassing predicaments. While the rich flee from him, the poor do not. When he is found naked, the rich go to satisfy their curiosity about the size of his penis and the poor go out of compassion (32-34).

Five short stories use the results of sexual relations between socioeconomic classes as a way of criticizing the social order dominated by the economic and social elite. The elite treats women as sexual playthings and discards them when they become a problem. It remains largely

unaccountable for its actions, while the least powerful segment of the poor, women, suffer at their hands.

Two short stories describe the destruction resulting from the sexual escapades of landowners. In "¡Dios nos libre Vicenta!" a landowner, a widower for a year, gets his cook pregnant. He has her married to an Indian, and she cries throughout the wedding. The landowner raises their son as his own and he only learns about his real mother after she and his father die (12-14). "Quien no crea en el asunto que se tome la molestia de pulsarle los huevos" recounts a brother's obsession with getting revenge for his sister's rape. They believe it is a rich man, because, although it is dark, the man has no callouses. The principal suspect is the landowner's son. The brother's obsession with protecting his family's honor is such that he becomes like another person. Some time later someone finds the dead body of the landowner's son in the road, disfigured by the beating that he receives (48-50).

Two other stories deal with the repercussions of servants impregnated by their employers. "Trenzas de noche" describes a fourteen year old boy's first sexual experience. A young girl comes to town to study and works in the boy's house. One night she gets into bed with him, the father finds out, and he ousts her from the house. The boy sees her at a fair later and she has a son. He asks her if it is his and she tells him she is not sure, because it could be

his or his father's. She rejects his offer of money and walks off (36-37). In "Con llorar no se gana nada," on Christmas Eve a sacristan goes to tell don Ambrosio that his illegitimate son is dead. After getting his servant pregnant, he fires her, in spite of her good work. She aimlessly wanders the streets and a woman finds her in a corral when she is about to give birth. Many want to kill the baby because they think it is a sign of misfortune that will afflict the community. The priest intervenes and argues that the baby may also be a gift from God. Everyone is surprised because she is an Indian and the baby boy is white with blond hair and blue eyes. In spite of her mental problems, she is a good mother. The sacristan suggests that don Ambrosio should go to mass and to see his former servant and his dead son and adds that crying will not help (8-10).

In "Como quien sabe que los chanchos no vuelan" an altar boy is on his deathbed and confesses to the priest. He wants to clear his conscience and admits to having sex with a deranged woman. He tells the priest that he should clear his conscience too, because he has a child by a married woman (24-26).

In these short stories, Zuzunaga Huaita is extremely critical of sexual violence and the social order in the Andes. In two of the three stories where servants become pregnant by their employers, they fire them. In "¡Dios nos libre Vicenta!" the servant's fate is arguably worse than

being fired. After the landowner forces her to marry another man, she remains as her own son's servant while he is unaware that she is his mother. Once pregnant, the elite tries to distance itself and deny the very problem it creates. In the three short stories where a woman is raped there is no official government action to apprehend the rapist. If there is justice, it is extrajudicial. Of the four children resulting from sexual relations with employers or rape, two die, and one has a very young, uneducated mother. Only the child raised as the landowner's own son has a potentially bright future. In emphasizing violence related to sex, Zuzunaga Huaita criticizes both the economic and social elite as well as the social order. Unequal relations of power are illustrated in the rape and pregnancies of lower class women. Within the same class women also suffer a subordinate position in relation to men.

Zuzunaga Huaita's only short story about the guerrilla war is "Ayataki," which examines the suffering and fratricide caused by the war, in this case by the military. The narrator, an old man, relates how the army massacres many young men of the village. Arriving at midnight, the soldiers kick the old man and ask him where the teacher is. When they find him hiding in the garden, they hit him and call him a terrorist (78). The teacher is "un buen hombre, bien plantao, que no se dejaba pisar el poncho con nadie, ni con los platudos, ni con el Taita Cura, ni con el

gobernador" (79). The narrator describes the soldiers as "los satanases con sus uniformes de soldao" (78). In the main plaza the soldiers fire over the prostrate bodies of young men and shout that they are terrorists and communists. They gather the most educated young men in one group and tell them run or die. As soon as they begin running, they begin to kill them. The leader of the military patrol arrives in the village after the massacre, starts turning over the bodies and spits on them. He falls to the ground sobbing when he recognizes his brother, the village's teacher (79-80).

In this emotional story Zuzunaga criticizes military violence related to the guerrilla war, exploiters of the campesino, and illustrates the fratricidal aspect of the war. The abusive soldiers kill the educated young men without trying to ascertain whether or not they have any association with the guerrillas. The military leader reflects the hatred of the soldiers by kicking and spitting on the bodies, and his attitude makes the surprise ending even more effective. Only upon seeing his dead brother does he realize the human toll of the war. The teacher is not a guerrilla, but rather is a good man, who confronts the traditional trinity of exploiters of the Indian: the rich, priests, and government authorities. The teacher is the one actor working to educate the village and to challenge those that exploit the campesino. His effort to construct is

undone by the actions of the military, but the military leader pays a big personal price for his hatred.

Oscar Colchado Lucio

Oscar Colchado Lucio, a literature teacher, was born in Huallanca, Ancash in 1947. He has published over eight narrative works and received many literary prizes. He won first prize in the Concurso Latinoamericano de Cuento, organized by the Consejo de Integración Cultural Latinoamericana for Hacia el Janaq Pacha (1988).

In "Hacia el Janaq Pacha," the narrator, a young boy, recounts how he and his family die in the increasing spiral of violence precipitated by the rise of Sendero Luminoso. The guerrillas force the boy's uncle to join them against his will. The boy's grandfather is dying of grief over his son's disappearance, and the boy's mother goes to ask the guerrillas to let her brother return to the family. Instead of letting him leave, they force her into their ranks. As a result of losing his two children to Sendero Luminoso, the grandfather dies (79). When the boy hears about the death of his mother and uncle, he goes to see the bodies and runs into a guerrilla column. They tell him that they are going to retaliate and he joins them (80). He dies in a battle with ronderos (76).

The story describes the ronderos as the expression of the popular will of the campesinos. In contrast, the

guerrillas gain their recruits by force. Only the boy joins the guerrillas of his own volition, and this is because he wants revenge for the deaths of his mother and uncle. The entire community joins the ronderos in the battle with the guerrillas (77).

The short story attempts to describe the horror of the violence surrounding the guerrilla war. Step by step, the level of violence increases. The grandfather dies as a result of losing his two children to the guerrillas. The military bombs a guerrilla column from a helicopter and leaves only "huesos calcinados" (75). In turn, the guerrillas consider the ronderos traitors, vow retaliation and declare that they will feel the "autoridad de la revolución" (77). After the ronderos force the guerrillas to retreat, the narrator sees the ronderos kicking his dead body (76). With the increasing number of deaths, hate increases and each group wants reprisals against their enemies.

Mario Guevara Paredes

Born in Cuzco in 1956, Mario Guevara Paredes published El desaparecido in 1988. "Sólo una niña" focusses on abuses committed by the military in the name of looking for guerrillas. The criticism is even more extreme because the target of the abuse is an innocent little girl.

The girl is one of many campesino passengers in a truck that leaves the city of Huamanga after the curfew. Poor, she has braided hair, wears a discolored dress, and her feet poke out of worn out shoes. She is on her way to school (57-59). As the truck passes abandoned villages, the narrator criticizes the military's cruel and indiscriminate use of power: "quedaron desolados, por la furia ciega e indiscriminada de la represión militar, que había ingresado como una peste casa por casa, arrastrando la muerte a su paso" (59). Following this broader condemnation of the military, the text focuses on an individual case. At a military roadblock, ten soldiers wearing ski masks surround the truck, order the passengers to get out, and check their documents. The girl's name is Marcusa Mamani Quispe. Seeing a Fortunato Mamani Quispe in his list of guerrillas, a soldier approaches her and asks her where her brother, Fortunato, is. Not knowing anyone by that name, she remains silent. He gets angry and asks her again where he is. Scared, she manages to say that she does not know him (59-62). He calls her an "india de mierda" (62), and hits her in the face with such force that she falls to her knees and her nose begins to bleed. The indignant passengers watch in fear as the soldiers point their machine guns at them. The soldier kicks the girl, who is on her knees and is sobbing. A woman, who has a daughter about the same age as the girl, shouts at him to leave her alone. He runs over to her,

slaps her in the face and accuses her of being a relative of the girl. After he says they can leave, the truck driver timidly tells him that he can not leave without the little girl, and the soldier threatens to shoot him. The truck is not very far away when the passengers hear gunfire from machine guns (62-64). In choosing an innocent young girl as the victim, Mario Guevara's criticism of the military as cruel, indiscriminate murders is more effective.

Reynaldo Santa Cruz

A literature teacher, Reynaldo Santa Cruz was born in Callao in 1963 and his first publication of short stories is La muerte de dios y otras muertes (1990). In "El hijo del Uchcu" the narrator, a young boy, details how guerrillas and soldiers abuse campesinos, who only want to remain neutral and to live their lives. He describes his childhood as idyllic before guerrillas kill his mother and soldiers murder his father. He is part of the spiraling level of violence, because he wants revenge against the guerrillas and the military.

The campesinos call Gonzalo (Abimael Guzmán) the son of Uchcu. Uchcu was a man from another region who hated whites and killed for the joy of seeing blood. He disobeyed his leader, don Pedro Pablo Atusparia, who wanted peace, and insulted God. This is why the campesinos call Gonzalo the son of Uchcu. The boy believes that Gonzalo kills without

pity and is half crazy. However, he says that the military is the same, because both kill his parents for not wanting to be involved (19).

When the guerrillas appear in the village, they ask for volunteers and food. They tell them that the popular army is there to liberate them from abusive landowners and that the day of liberation is near. Although the villagers barely have enough food for themselves, they give the guerrillas most of their harvest out of fear. They resist by remaining silent when the guerrillas shout their slogans to the armed struggle. When they want boys to join them, no one volunteers and the narrator's mother hides him. Angry, they force the boys to join them and find the hidden narrator. When his parents' pleas fail, his mother kills the guerrilla holding the boy with a rock. The boy escapes, they kill his mother, and the villagers start throwing rocks at the guerrillas, who flee. After losing his wife and harvest, the narrator's father begins drinking and cries at night (20-23). The narrator is extremely critical of the guerrillas, who first claim to be friends and then become vicious when the <u>campesinos</u> do not obey them:

> Siempre pues, la gente del Gonzalo hijo de uchcu diciendo que no queremos ser libres, que somos brutos, que debemos irnos pal monte, y traidores y soplones, siempre traidores y soplones, y ... ¡pam!, primero somos sus hermanos, después perros malditos y ... ¡pam pam! hablándonos en quechua que no hay dios, que el diablo son los gringos nada más y nosotros que no, que taita dios sí existe y ¡pam pam pam! y ya nadies queda pues, nadies. (22)

In two visits to the village, the military abuses the women. The first time five soldiers rape a woman, laugh and leave. After the rape, she goes half mad, becomes pregnant and has a boy. Her brother joins the guerrillas. The second time, after having to give the guerrillas their harvest, the only thing the soldiers can steal is the village's chicha. Drunk, they force the women to dance with them. At first, the villagers are afraid because of their weapons and memories of the death of the narrator's mother. After seeing the nearly unclothed women and remembering the rape, they start throwing rocks at the soldiers, who kill the boy's father and six villagers. The military leader threatens to massacre the entire village if they contradict the official story that they kill seven terrorists (22-25).

For the narrator, the guerrillas and the military are essentially the same, and he wants revenge. He and his father suffer after the guerrillas kill his mother and steal their harvest. The soldiers rape a woman and kill seven campesinos, including the boy's father. The narrator concludes that the guerrillas and the military are murderers and their principal victims are campesinos caught in the middle: "Todos matan, los dos matan duro, da lo mismo, pero los que siempre mueren somos nosotros, los sembradores de trigo, los que cuidamos chacritas y tenemos animales a las justas pa' comer" (22). He wants revenge and believes that it is possible that the son produced from the rape will

avenge his mother, and that his father is growing, like the myth of Inkarrí, to one day kill soldiers and guerrillas. At the end of the short story the narrator has an automatic rifle hidden beneath his poncho and wants to go to the river to kill guerrillas and soldiers (23-25).

Dante Castro Arrasco

Dante Castro Arrasco was born in Callao in 1959, has a law degree from the Catholic University, has studied literature at the Universidad Nacional Mayor de San Marcos and teaches. In his second collection of short stories, Parte de combate (1991), three of the six short stories deal with the guerrilla war. "Angel de la isla" describes the Frontón prison massacre in 1986. Since it takes place in Lima, it is not included. The other two examine personal factors that lead soldiers and guerrillas to make a bloody war even bloodier.

In "Parte de combate" a soldier criticizes an army lieutenant who is brutally savage in his treatment of his subordinates and in battles with guerrillas. While none of his men likes him, lieutenant Soria is especially cruel with recruits from the sierra. Believing they could be infiltrators and traitors, he gives them the dirtiest jobs and treats them so harshly that most transfer or desert. The narrator, one of Soria's subordinates, states that they never take prisoners and that he has taught them how to

kill. Each patrol is an orgy of blood that compromises all the soldiers (41-46).

The principal reason for Soria's cruelty is that intelligence officials force him to kill a young boy to save his life and career. He takes in a young boy, orphaned as a result of the dirty war, to be a servant and quickly grows fond of him. Intelligence officials accuse the boy of being an infiltrator and retrieving orders and details of troop deployments from Soria's garbage. They denounce Soria as a traitor because many men have died due to his negligence. He insists that he is innocent and the officials reply that the only way to prove it is to kill the boy. They argue that it is a war, the boy is the enemy, and he should have no compassion for him. He has to kill the boy with a commando knife. After weeks of working like an automaton and almost becoming an alcoholic, Soria asks for a transfer to Luricocha, because he wants action and to kill for killing's sake without feeling (43-46).

Soria loses his legs and testicles in a battle with comrade Dionisio, whom the narrator describes as being exceptionally brave. Found alone, Dionisio fights against the patrol and they nearly destroy the house with gunshots. When they think he is out of bullets, Soria wants to fight him alone, as if it were a personal duel. He wounds Soria and the soldiers open fire again. The narrator says that he admires Dionisio, because he decides to die like a man. He

comes out of the house firing and clutching something against his chest. After he dies, Soria approaches him to spit on the body, but when he kicks him, a grenade explodes. He loses his legs and testicles and is now in a hospital in Ayacucho (46-48). The narrator believes that Soria is paying for the suffering he has caused: "pregúntale qué se siente estar así. Si lo ves llorar es porque seguramente recuerda a tanta gente que hizo sufrir" (48).

Demetrio, the narrator of "Ñakay Pacha (El tiempo del dolor)," is a campesino guerrilla who describes and comments on various actions. The analysis of the short story centers on the violence of the guerrillas and the repressive forces, individual motivations of guerrillas, and the reactions of communities to the evolution of the war.

The first guerrilla action is a brutal reprisal against the village of Santiago, who rob animals and burn harvests of other villages that do not have rondas campesinas. Demetrio describes Marcial, the guerrilla leader, as an "ángel convertido en demonio," because he is personally killing villagers who surrender, even if they are not with the ronda (15). The destruction of the village is almost complete. It is in flames, women and children are crying, and the guerrillas take their livestock (16).

The acute level of violence is due in part to Marcial's personal vendetta against the village. Years before the guerrilla war he and his companion, Rosa, go to Santiago to

teach the Indians. They arrive during a celebration of the fiesta of San Isidro Labrador, where everyone eats, dances and drinks heartedly. Some twenty drunk Indians rape Rosa, and, when they realize what they have done, they kick them out of the community. She later dies in a battle with the sinchis in Huanta (17-18).

Although the violence of the attack against Santiago bothers him, Demetrio continues with the guerrillas. He would like to forget some incidents that occur during the attack on the village. He recalls Alejo Velasco begging for his life, but he kills him after he remembers his abuses. He regrets seeing Marcial killing so many villagers, especially those who give up and have nothing to do with the ronda. He still dreams of seeing the faces of the dead returning everything that they have robbed. However, he perseveres and Sendero Luminoso changes him from base status to a party member (13-20).

Support for the guerrillas in the communities diminishes, primarily because of concerns about reprisals by the repressive forces. After the attack on Santiago, previously friendly communities refuse to give them food, because they are afraid that the soldiers will kill them later. Those who applaud them before now slam the door in their faces. In one village they give the guerrillas provisions out of pity and beg them to leave (18-20).

Three other actions by the guerrillas are to kill a drug trafficker, attack a Civil Guard post, and to hold a popular trial in a village. The guerrilla who kills the drug trafficker cuts off his ears and, to see him suffer, stabs him several times in the chest with a knife. The action against the Civil Guard post is easy because the police flee and leave behind arms and four machine guns. The third action is a popular trial. Among the victims is a member of the intelligence service, whom Demetrio kills with a machete (18-21).

The police (sinchis) and marines pursue the column. Of the two groups, they prefer to fight the sinchis. The guerrilla leaders say that they are drunks, drug addicts, and can not stand the altitude. The marines, on the other hand, frighten them. When the marines take a guerrilla prisoner, they find explosives and blow him up. Demetrio says that the marines are stronger than other soldiers and are well armed. With their escape route cut off, they decide to confront the sinchis. In the ensuing battle those that die, including Demetrio, watch the battle unfold. When they capture Marcial and his companion, Adelaida, they rape her, by rank and seniority while others hold Marcial and force him to watch. As is the custom, the last one to rape her, kills her. Then they kill Marcial with a knife (19-25).

These two short stories describe debauchery by the repressive forces and the guerrillas. Lieutenant Soria's patrols take no prisoners and every outing is an orgy of blood. The marines blow up a guerrilla and the sinchis rape a woman and kill guerrillas. The guerrillas raze a village, and brutally kill a drug trafficker with the knife and an intelligence official with a machete.

Lieutenant Soria and Marcial are the keys to understanding the level of violence. Subordinates narrate each short story and criticize their superiors, making the criticism more effective. After Soria has to kill his orphan servant, he changes and treats his subordinates from the sierra harshly and each patrol is a bloodbath. In retaliating for the Indians' rape of Rosa, the narrator describes Marcial's transformation from an angel to a demon. Like Soria, he takes no prisoners in Santiago. Both have a violent end. Soria loses his legs and testicles and has to live with his memories. Before dying, Marcial has to watch his companion, Adelaida, repeatedly raped. The short stories leave unresolved whether the violence abates with the removal of Soria and Marcial or whether it continues.

Luis Nieto Degregori

Luis Nieto Degregori was born in Cuzco in 1955. He studied at the Patricio Lumumba University in Moscow and was a professor at the Universidad Nacional de San Cristóbal de

Huamanga in the early 1980s. He has published four collections of short stories, all of which are included in Con los ojos para siempre abiertos (1990). Six of the seven short stories describe aspects of the guerrilla war.[2] Three examine changes in the city of Ayacucho due to the guerrilla war. The fourth describes ideological disputes between two lovers, one a guerrilla and the other a socialist. The fifth is an extensive short story that revolves around a character's two weeks with the guerrillas and her subsequent rejection of Sendero Luminoso.

"Semana santa" examines changes in Ayacucho through the eyes of Diana, who returns during Holy Week. While it focusses on her memories of her past in the city, there are some examples of the differences since the intensification of the guerrilla war. While there are many sinchis in the airport, there is less of a police and military presence in the city. Diana's friend, Blanca, explains that the city has a larger population, because the campesinos who move to the pueblos jóvenes looking for more security outnumber the rich who flee. While there is no curfew, most people do not venture out in the streets after nine or ten o'clock (19-23). Blanca says that one effect of the terror of the war is that the legend of the pishtaco returns: "Es tal el grado

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[2] More than likely based on Hildebrando Pérez Huarancca, "Vísperas" questions whether his increasing consecration in the critical community is due to his talent as a writer or because of his involvement in Sendero Luminoso. Due to the limits of the dissertation, "Vísperas" will not be analyzed.

de terror que ha renacido la imagen del degollador que les extrae a sus víctimas la grasa del cuerpo. La gente dice que el gobierno los ha enviado a matar a los ayacuchanos, sobre todo a los jóvenes" (31).

In "Harta cerveza y harta bala" the arrival of the sinchis achieves little more than to gain the contempt of the citizens of Ayacucho. The narrator of the story, a university professor, attacks the sinchis for being more preoccupied with a good time than fighting the guerrillas:

> Habían llegado a Ayacucho, supuestamente, para controlar la subversión, pero, en realidad, se dedicaban, desde su capitán hasta el último subalterno, a pasarlo bien, con el agravante de que se comportaban con la población de la ciudad como fuerza de ocupación: nunca pedían, cogían lo que les daba la gana y amenazaban o metían bala al que se atrevía a protestar. Con tales maneras no les costó mucho esfuerzo granjearse el odio de todos los ayacuchanos. (56)

While they enjoy themselves, the war continues. A guerrilla attack on a police post briefly interrupts the party atmosphere. The authorities declare a curfew and the sinchis arrest many innocent people who are later released. After this brief period of work, the sinchis return to their parties. The people in the city become so accustomed to the curfew and other restrictions that they almost forget about the war until the guerrillas assault the jail.[3] The sinchis' unhappy superiors transfer the entire contingent (54-62).

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[3] This undoubtedly refers to the 1982 guerrilla assault on the Ayacucho prison where many guerrillas were freed.

The narrator is both critical and supportive of a sinchi named Henry. Henry's credo is "harta cerveza y harta bala" (55). The narrator's curt commentary is that the sinchis only use their bullets to intimidate bar and discotheque owners and young men (55). While Henry has a wife and children (37), he and Esther, a university student, lead a frenetic social life. He amuses himself by intimidating a university student who denies any part in a guerrilla assault. He places his machine gun barrel in the student's mouth, forces his head back, and repeatedly threatens to kill him if he does not confess. He signals to another sinchi, who approaches and fires his machine gun in the air. The student urinates out of fear when he hears the shots. After laughing heartedly, Henry justifies the action because in a war one has to interrogate immediately so the enemy does not have time to prepare psychologically. The narrator reflects the views of many about the guerrilla war, because he does not care what methods the sinchis use as long as they fulfill their duties (55-58). However, there is no mention of the student's guilt.

In "Como cuando estábamos vivos" the narrator returns to Ayacucho to find that his friends are preparing to leave. They flee because of the police and military, not the guerrillas. They kill innocent people, such as shooting a pregnant woman in the stomach to kill her baby before it is born. The city is full of them and every day more of them

come. During the day there is some semblance of normalcy, but at night the residents remain in their houses. The narrator spends weeks spying on the police and military to find out why they are there. One day a sheet of paper falls from one and he reads it (151-52). The secret is that everyone in the city is dead, because the paper says, "Ayacucho -rincón de los muertos" (152).[4] He concludes that the repressive forces are in Ayacucho to assure that they resign themselves to their deaths (152). However, he does not understand why they continue to abuse them if they are already dead: "¿por qué, si ya estamos muertos, los uniformados nos golpean y a veces hasta nos vuelven a matar?" (152).

These short stories describe changes in the city of Ayacucho brought about by the guerrilla war and focus on criticisms of the police and military presence. The guerrilla war forces campesinos to flee the countryside to the relative security of the pueblos jóvenes, the residents desert the streets at night whether or not there is a curfew, and guerrilla attacks continue. In "Harta cerveza y harta bala," the sinchis prefer parties and intimidating innocent citizens to battling the guerrillas. The narrator reflects the opinions of many in not caring if the dirty war is the method used to combat the guerrillas, but he

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[4] Ayacucho means the corner of the dead. The title of Samuel Cavero's novel is similar.

complains when they abuse citizens in the city. In "Como cuando estábamos vivos," the narrator views the repressive forces as the enemy, there to assure that the citizenry remain dead. All three short stories describe the primary change as the police and military occupying the city and abusing its residents.

In "Con los ojos para siempre abiertos" two lovers, both teachers, have almost constant ideological arguments because she joins the guerrillas and he opposes them. She argues that in a war people kill and die, and he replies that it is not a war, but rather an unjustified orgy of blood. He argues that the rich maintain their privileges or escape to Miami, while the guerrillas grow fat by recruiting humble campesinos, students and teachers (153-54). He does not reject socialism, but does reject the actions of the guerrillas: "no hay nada más irracional, nada que nos aleje más de la justicia y el socialismo que emprender la larga marcha con las manos enlodadas en sangre" (155). She tells him that he has no place at her side unless he joins the party. He informs the authorities about an impending guerrilla action, because he is tired of her being in a bloody and absurd cause. He believes she finally realizes how important life is when a bullet destroys her head, but he can not be at peace with himself for being responsible for her death (154-55).

"La joven que subió al cielo" is an extensive short story of sixty pages that revolves around Daniela, in love with a guerrilla, who spends two weeks with the guerrillas in their armed campaign. She vacillates about joining the guerrillas and finally rejects their extremism as an aberration of socialism. Pedro, the guerrilla, gives everything for the guerrilla cause, including his life. The analysis of "La joven que subió al cielo" describes Daniela's experiences and focusses on her and the text's criticisms of Sendero Luminoso.

Daniela and Pedro are idealistic. As a child, her family talks about revolution, injustice and the poor, and Gonzalo (Abimael Guzmán) is a frequent guest at their house. At that time her father and Gonzalo agree politically, but they later go on divergent ideological paths. Daniela wants to be a doctor for the poor. Her mother, a nurse, collaborates with the guerrillas from time to time. When Pedro gets out of jail, her mother invites him to stay at her house. He is proud of his lower class background, not being white, spending his childhood in a Lima shanty town, and having a father who is a factory worker. He classifies Daniela, who is white, as petit bourgeois (87-95).

Although they are involved with other people, Daniela and Pedro fall in love and he asks her to have a baby with him for the revolution. She vacillates, tells him that she will have it, and immediately regrets her decision. When he

receives orders to go to Lima, he asks her to join the struggle, but she avoids making any commitment. After he leaves, she throws herself into other activities and goes to Ica to study medicine. She forgets about him until she calls home one day and learns that he is preparing to go to the countryside to begin armed actions. When the semester is over, she returns home and makes contact with the guerrillas. They allow her to go see Pedro although she makes it clear that she does not want to join the party (94-107).

While the guerrillas participate in various actions, the text describes three in more detail. In a popular trial they tell the lieutenant governor that he is going to bark because he is a dog of Belaúnde. They take him and an informer to a river and kill them (113-15). The second action occurs in the town where Daniela's aunt and uncle live. They burn and dynamite the abandoned police post, give out products from stores, and confiscate arms and other goods from the lieutenant governor's home (125). The third action is dynamiting a television transmission tower, which occurs a week after Daniela returns home. Pedro is wounded and Daniela goes to Lima to care for him (138-42).

One of the guerrilla characters, Noemí, is based on or inspired by the real-life Edith Lagos.[5] Daniela and Noemí

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[5] Edith Lagos was one of the first martyrs for Sendero Luminoso. According to Gustavo Gorriti, she was captured on Christmas Eve of 1980 in Ayacucho. She was allegedly

know each other because Noemí hides at her house after she escapes from prison. She changes her hair, goes to the airport full of sinchis, and flees to Lima (111). Republican Guards kill her companion, Carlos, in the hospital as revenge for the attack on the prison. The narrator emphasizes that she, in contrast to popular belief, does not hold a high position in the party. In Lima they assign her to be José's companion and the two go to the Ayacucho countryside (117). Learning this changes Daniela's impression of Noemí and almost justifies (for Daniela) her brutality:

> Recién comprendía, justificaba casi, la dureza, la violencia, la rabia con que ésta trataba a los enemigos de clase (ella era la más agresiva cuando sacaron al soplón a empellones de su casa para llevarlo a la plaza) y que antes le parecían tan chocantes en una mujer. (117)

This also makes her realize why Noemí hugs José frequently and is usually close to him. She believes it is a form of refuge, and the reaction of a sensitive woman with a wounded

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responsible for the city of Ayacucho (132-33). By early 1982 Sendero Luminoso was debilitated by the capture of leaders such as Hildebrando Pérez Huarancca, Edith Lagos and others (254). On March 2, 1982 the guerrillas attacked the prison and within half an hour they had gained control of Ayacucho. They released 78 prisoners charged with terrorism and 169 others accused of common crimes (257-260). On September 3 she and a man were killed by the Republican Guard in a highway in Andahuaylas (360). She was nineteen years old. Being the daughter of a rich merchant, she was an example of sacrifice and commitment, because, due to her father, she had other options. There are estimates of some 30,000 people at her funeral (362).

According to Americas Watch, the Comando Rodrigo Franco blew up her grave in 1988 (53).

heart (117). Toward the end of the short story, Noemí dies. The television news reports that she is a high-ranking senderista leader and that she dies in a battle. Daniela later finds out that the press reports are wrong. The text states that what actually happens is that Noemí decides to teach José to drive. Only armed with revolvers, they intercept a truck, not realizing that there are policemen in the back. They mortally wound Noemí and José falls to the ground and shouts to nonexistent comrades to repel the attack. Believing him, the police flee. José drags her to a nearby house and goes for help, but the police return with reinforcements and capture the already moribund Noemí (141-42).

Nieto Degregori's intentions in contradicting official and popular accounts of Edith Lagos's participation in Sendero Luminoso and her death is unclear. The narrator openly disputes the idea that she held a high position within the party, contradicting journalistic reports like that of Gustavo Gorriti, who worked for Caretas news magazine. Characters also dispute television reports about her death. It is possible that Nieto Degregori is attempting to correct what he believes are erroneous reports about Edith Lagos or it could just be a technique to give his short story seem more authentic. His questioning of official and popular reports has at least two effects on readers. One is to convince readers that the fictional text

they are reading is based on an intimate knowledge of the details of the life of Edith Lagos, which adds an air of authenticity to the text as a whole. The second is to make readers question accounts about Edith Lagos. It is a logical extrapolation for readers to question the veracity of other reports of the guerrilla war.

One criticism of the guerrillas is their sexual practices. María is a young campesina guerrilla four or five months pregnant. While they are preparing a meal, Daniela asks her who the father is. María replies that she does not know: "No sé, mamita, ¡varios me han forzado!" (116). Daniela thinks it is sinchis, but María says the guerrillas are responsible. María also tells her that once Pedro tells her that Daniela's breasts are white and small (116). The text says that these sexual customs "constituían algo así como la política demográfica del partido" (117).

This revelation is surprising for many reasons. First, in all the other texts analyzed there is never any mention of guerrillas raping women. It is always the police and the military. The key word in María's description is forzado, which does not imply consent. That they force one of their own to have sex, contrasts with the description of Sendero Luminoso as largely puritanical in articles by the press and social scientists. A second factor is that María is a campesina. While the text does not go into much detail about the sexual practices of the guerrillas, the only

mention of forced sex is against a campesina. There is no allusion to the relationship between José, the leader, and Noemí as anything but monogamous, and no one ever threaten Daniela. María's forced pregnancy is due to either her race or her position within the hierarchy. Either way, this is a strong indictment of the efforts of Sendero Luminoso to create a classless society.

Another example of the rigid senderista hierarchy is the order of serving food. Daniela rebels and serves a campesino first. Very offended, he curses and shouts in Quechua that she should serve the leaders first. No one defends her and she serves José first. Her lack of discipline results in an admonition by the political and military leaders (119).

This moment marks her first rebellion against the guerrillas and they begin to compromise her so she that will remain with them. In the confrontation with the leaders over her serving the campesino first, she does not mention that she is tired of being a peon in a revolutionary strategy that does not convince her. She complains about having to work in the kitchen and asks for a more important role. José tells her that she is the one who has chosen her role in the support group, not them. She remembers that the first day, after her cold reception by Pedro, she takes refuge in the kitchen (119-20).

They ask Daniela to go to her uncle's house in a nearby village and to make a detailed map of the strategic points. She draws the map and reunites with the guerrillas to attack the same village. After quickly changing into her peasant clothing, they arrive in the village and she rushes to give the map to a leader. Confused at first, he puts it into his pocket without looking at it. She concludes that they want to compromise her by being seen while making the map. In the plaza her aunt approaches her, points to the truck, and whispers to her that her shoes are at the rear of the truck so everyone can see them. She remembers having placed her clothing further back in the truck. The villagers also notice her white legs. After they leave the village, two guerrillas tell her that they think the villagers have recognized her. Daniela pretends that it does not bother her, but she is preoccupied and feels betrayed (120-26).

After the action in the village and meeting a contact in Ayacucho, Daniela tries to leave the guerrillas. While still in the city of Ayacucho, she tells her contact that she is not going back. He tells her that his orders are for her to accompany him, and, in addition, she knows about the next action. During her meeting with the political and military leaders, they tell her that she has been recognized and that it is safer to remain with the guerrillas. She replies she can serve the cause better by being a doctor and that her principal reason for being there is to be with

Pedro a few days. They say they can not let her leave because she knows about the next actions (132-35). As she persists, the leaders begin to be less friendly and to threaten her: "abandonaron ellos las buenas maneras para seguidamente, mediante veladas amenazas, intentar retenerla por la fuerza" (135-36). She finally convinces them to let her go (136).

In a subtle, but effective way, the guerrillas try to compromise Daniela so that she remains with them. First, they send her to her uncle's village for the unnecessary task of making the map. She hides her clothing back in the truck, but someone assures that the villagers can see it. All of these actions happen immediately after she shows signs of discontent.

The bloodshed of the guerrilla war horrifies Daniela. Most of the people that she meets during her two weeks with the guerrillas die. One afternoon sinchis arrive in a community by helicopter and, without differentiating between senderistas and campesinos, shoot everyone who can not escape. Pedro eludes them, but they later ambush him and others and blow them up with grenades. Those who do not perish in the war die in other actions. Prisoners who work between the city and the countryside are massacred in the Lurigancho and El Frontón prisons. Along with the hemorrhaging of Sendero Luminoso, there are many victims of the party's justice. Every day the toll increases (145-46).

From the very beginning of her experience with the guerrilla column, Daniela has doubts about Sendero Luminoso's ideology and eventually rejects the party, but not socialism. After the first armed action, she admires their convictions, but does not have the same level of fervor as they do. She also does not agree with many of their actions and their justifying them in the name of the revolution (116). By the end of the short story she completely rejects the party:

> el socialismo es la obra de la voluntad mancomunada de un pueblo, que pone en la tarea lo más hermoso que tiene-- su amor por la vida, su impulso vital que le obliga a volverle la espalda a la muerte-- junto con todas las luces que la humanidad ha conquistado hasta el día de hoy. Eso es el socialismo y no, como lo pregona el pensamiento Gonzalo, una caricatura elevada a dogma y esculpida a hachazos, en carne viva, sobre una montaña de huesos humanos. (146)

While Daniela loses faith in the ideals of the party, marries and has children, she does not remain a housewife. When her youngest son turns two, she returns to school to become a doctor (138-47).

Enrique Rosas Paravicino

Enrique Rosas Paravicino was born in Ocongate, Cuzco, in 1948 and is a professor and chair of the Communications Department at the Universidad Nacional San Antonio Abad del Cuzco. Five of the ten short stories in Al filo del rayo (1988), his first published narrative work, deal with the guerrilla war. Themes include the racism of the

socioeconomic elite, corruption of a priest, unjust detainment of people, and violence related to the guerrilla war.

"El rencor sobre todo" describes the racism of a commission of rich men who refuse to construct a monument to Túpac Amaru in the main plaza in Cuzco. From distinguished families, four are lawyers, including one who is also a university professor, and one is a priest. While they are waiting for the mayor, they discuss a university professor and the university. The professor, the cholo Lares, is the principal force behind the effort to construct the monument, and many are angry at him, as is clear by their using cholo to describe him. He teaches the history of colonial Peru and a lawyer remarks that the best thing that Lares can do for the country and history is to return to his village and cultivate potatoes. One says that a problem with the university is that there are too many cholos and Indians who study there. The men's children and other relatives study abroad. Finally, a representative of the mayor arrives and says that the monument will not be built in the main plaza and they all celebrate. The newspaper article the next day says that the principal argument for not constructing the monument in the main plaza is that, due to its historical importance, the plaza is a monument. A commission member suggests another part of the city, where there is more land for monuments. He proposes the construction of a crypt, not

only for Túpac Amaru, but for all the precursors of independence (39-43). In this way, he lessens the importance of Túpac Amaru and the Indians.

In "Asunto de fe" a priest absconds with money from a church. During three days of religious festivities he charges triple the normal amount for baptisms and weddings. Upon hearing complaints, at first he ignores them (35). He finally silences them when he says: "'Esta plata no es para mí --les enfrentó--. Es para la iglesia del Señor. ¿Van a mezquinarle a El unos cuantos soles?'" (35). Various miracles occur, such as a man cured of an illness and a tourist who starts speaking fluent Quechua. For each miracle the priest only accepts gold or dollars, and rejects traveler's checks and personal checks. After the religious festival, he rents a truck and flees. He only stops when he has an accident and ends up in the hospital. When his parishioners visit him, he remarks that the religious image is miraculous because it has punished him (35-36).

With a background of bombings related to celebrations of Abimael Guzmán's birthday, "Feliz cumpleaños" criticizes unjust jailings by the police and the violence of the guerrillas. Four teachers, one the union leader and the others regional leaders, are on one side of a jail cell and common criminals on the other. No one knows their whereabouts. A new prisoner is a student detained for passing out flyers from the teacher's union. An undercover

police officer accuses him of being a terrorist and says that he is not from the area. Although another person corroborates that he is a student and has been in the town for years, the police take him away and interrogate him for hours. The student says the flyer is not subversive. It talks about hunger because of the regime, indiscriminate police violence, solidarity with teachers, kidnappings, bread subsidies, and asks for Economy Minister to resign (85-89).

Less than an hour after they hear two explosions, the police arrive with six new prisoners. They are students, unemployed, and street vendors in their twenties, and a few have signs of being beaten. One of them tells them that four men chasing another man detain him while he waits for the bus. Another says that he is dumb, because he leaves his room to see the damage out of curiosity (89-92).

A police officer, major Pinzón, threatens the prisoners and calls them prisoners of war:

> Aquí deshuevamos al hombre más macho y plantado. Aquí ustedes son como prisioneros de guerra... de esa guerra de mierda que ha desatado vuestra ideología. ¿Y saben qué se hace con el prisionero de guerra? Se hace cualquier cosa: se le arranca los ojos, se le destripa a cuchillo, se le castra sin anestesia, se le arranca las uñas o se le amputa los dedos. Y al final se le ejecuta sin juicio ni papeleo. ¡Qué cojudez caramba! Ustedes son el enemigo interno. Peor que Chile o Ecuador. Volar torres o edificios es también atentar contra la soberanía nacional. Hacer huelgas o agitación es parte de las consignas que provienen del extranjero. ¡Se jodieron ahora!... Esta noche van a cantar los gallos. Les vamos a aplicar picana eléctrica en los cristales. (93-94)

He also tells them that no one will come to defend them. When the prisoners return to their cell, they do not know if it is a bluff or not (94).

Around 11:30 there are more explosions, one occurring in the patio of the police headquarters, and the prisoners hear a battle between the police and guerrillas. Another blast creates a hole in the cell that opens to the street. The other prisoners flee, but the four teachers and the student remain. Half an hour later, the police return with thirty suspects. When the police take the teachers and the student, some injured, to see major Pinzón, they see two dead police officers. Surprised that they have not escaped, major Pinzón releases them on their own recognizance (95-98).

As they leave the jail, there is still a blackout and the student realizes that the reason for so many bombs is that next day, November 26, is Abimael Guzmán's birthday (99-100).[6] He interprets the birthday celebrations as "Una serenata. Pero una serenata de sangre, con bombas y balas. Es la forma de apagar velas que tiene el ideólogo de Sendero. El pone su natalicio y la policía... los muertos" (100). Scared, they take a taxi. The story ends by saying that the same thing is happening in five other cities, where

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[6] According to Roldán, his birthday is December 3 (83). Simón Munaro says it is December 4 (92).

towers, banks, and police stations are in pieces as part of the celebration (100-101).

In "Gallo de ánimas" soldiers kill seven teachers, allegedly for being guerrillas, but the actions of the teachers contradict the accusation. Loved by the community, they work to help it progress by helping construct a building, a library, and a medical clinic. They also complain to the district attorney about sinchis killing livestock and bothering women. In the early afternoon the narrator sees soldiers walking by and shortly afterward they hear gunshots. The villagers arrive to see the still warm bodies of the teachers, gunned down in cold blood in front of their students. The captain is trembling with hatred and says the teachers are terrorists. The soldiers later machine gun the mourners at the wake for the teachers (79-82).

These two short stories criticize abuses of teachers by the police and military. The teachers have nothing to do with Sendero Luminoso. In fact, the student in "Feliz cumpleaños" condemns their macabre birthday celebrations. However, the guerrilla war allows the police and military to stifle legal and peaceful dissent under the guise of combating the guerrillas. In "Feliz cumpleaños" the teachers and student follow legal avenues of dissent, but the major groups them with the guerrillas. In "Gallo de ánimas" the teachers help the community progress and stand

up for their rights against abusive policemen. Soldiers kill them extrajudiciously in front of their students and murder those at the wake. These two short stories criticize the repressive forces for using the guerrilla war as a pretext to stifle legitimate dissent and to jail and kill innocent people.

In "Al filo del rayo" a young boy describes a popular trial. The guerrillas' entrance into the village is dramatic. They hear blasts of dynamite, one destroying the colonial bridge, and they appear before they can hide. Comrade Flor is the only one without a ski mask. At the first sign of trouble, all eight Civil Guards abandon their post. The guerrillas take supplies from the post and raise their flag in the plaza (106-7).

They quickly take control of the town, stop villagers from pillaging stores, and begin the popular trial. Comrade Flor charges the mayor with corruption, and the governor with working with the police and military, and for his involvement in a massacre and the arrest of students. She pronounces them guilty and they shoot them at the priest's house (107-15).

A third prisoner, a policeman with the Civil Guard, collaborates with the guerrillas and they free him. He begs for his life and tells them where the hidden cache of arms are. While there are animated discussions about whether they should kill him, he gets on his knees before comrade

Flor and begs her to save his life. He shows her a photograph of his wife and two young daughters. She asks him if she is from Quillabamba and if her name is Chela. He answers yes to both questions and asks her if she knows her. She says that she knows her more or less. After more discussions, they decide to punish him before freeing him (111-17). Converting the punishment into a metaphor of the revolution, a guerrilla with scissors says: "Así como estas tijeras cortan el pelo del mal hombre, así la revolución cortará la mala yerba del pueblo. Así también pronto cortaremos de raíz la pobreza, la explotación, la ignorancia" (117). After cutting his hair, they escort him to the edge of the town (118).

The story describes comrade Flor as being a somewhat compassionate person. She is young and resembles the narrator's cousin's teacher (107). She calls the narrator over, caresses his head, asks his name, and gives him a caramel. While he is there, another guerrilla asks her about her defense of the policeman. She replies that he is her brother-in-law and she can not vote for killing her only sister's husband (119-20).

Comrade Flor justifies the revolution to the crowd assembled in the plaza. She brings greetings from the Peruvian Communist Party and says that they are there to tell them who they are, what they want, why they fight, and

to judge abusive people who exploit them in the name of the regime and empire (110).

> Como ustedes, nosotros también somos gente del pueblo; somos campesinos, estudiantes, empleados y obreros. Luchamos por una patria mejor en la que todos tengan derecho al pan, al trabajo, a la educación y a la prosperidad. Luchamos porque nuestros niños tengan un destino garantizado, luchamos porque los jóvenes tengan una oportunidad de realización. En fin luchamos porque los campesinos, estos yanaconas explotados, tengan posibilidad de redención social... Hemos abandonado nuestras casas, nuestras familias y nuestros trabajos para incorporarnos a la lucha armada. Y como nosotros hay miles de peruanos combatiendo en el país, tanto en la costa, sierra y selva. (112)

Once the popular trial is over, four loudspeakers fill the plaza with sound, they announce that they are going to play the best of Andean music and everyone begins to dance (118-19).

The narrator condemns the guerrillas and the hypocrisy of many of the villagers. He says that before there is an abusive large landowner, but the government takes over his hacienda and there is no need for the guerrillas (109). He is also angry and disappointed with government officials who are dancing happily. He feels like calling them by name, but that would put his family in jeopardy, because his father works for the government (121).

"Historia de una cabeza con precio" recounts the supposedly true story of how comrade Riobaldo joins the guerrillas. As a child, the guerrillas hang his father. The boy insults the guerrillas, but they do not pay much

attention to him. When he mocks two guerrillas, one makes a gesture as if she is going to give him a Smith 38. He is about to insult her when greed takes over. She will give him the pistol if he goes with her to Pocohuanca, where they are going to capture a man. After that he can return (63-64). He thinks about his options in the village: "Miró al pueblo ya sin gente. Quedaban pocas familias; más viejos que jóvenes. Otros chicos más crecidos se afanaban para la cabalgata. Alguien metía un cajón de muerto a la plaza. Quiso llorar, pero se reprimió" (64). He decides to accompany the guerrillas and she gives him the unloaded pistol, promising to load it later. The next morning he participates in the capture of the man. Afterward, he becomes a legend for the number of authorities that he kills (64).

The contradictions in these two short stories reflect the complexity of the guerrilla war. In "Al filo del rayo" the young boy believes that there is no exploitation after the government confiscates a landowner's hacienda. The guerrillas argue that they are fighting to end the exploitation of the campesino and to create a better future. In both short stories the guerrillas have no compunction killing the mayor, governor and comrade Riobaldo's father. Instead of wanting revenge, comrade Riobaldo becomes famous for the number of people he kills for Sendero Luminoso. However, there is a certain degree of compassion among the

guerrillas. Comrade Flor is kind to the boy, caressing his head and giving him a caramel. Family ties motivate her to argue for saving her brother-in-law's life. Even the female guerrilla in the second short story shows some compassion, albeit in a peculiar context. After they kill comrade Riobaldo's father, she offers him a form of family to replace the one they destroy. In the first short story the guerrillas follow their murder of government officials with a party, and government workers that survive happily dance with the guerrillas, supposedly their enemies. In these two short stories Rosas Paravicino shows the complexity of the guerrilla war and describes the guerrillas as both brutal and compassionate.

"Camino de la suerte" has two different story lines. One deals with dead people talking about their experiences with the guerrilla war and the second with two men who care for the daughter of a dead guerrilla. Both describe a process of healing and overcoming the hatred caused by the guerrilla war.

In the first story three dead people, a guerrilla, an innocent woman, and a Republican Guard, talk in a grave. It has been three years since Emiliano Florián, a guerrilla, dies in the assault on the prison in Ayacucho in 1982. Before the attack, he leaves his daughter, who is just learning to walk, with a friend, Ceferina. When Emiliano sees Ceferina in the grave, she tells him that the parents

of a friend are raising his daughter near Cuzco. Not a guerrilla, Ceferina dies in the crossfire of a battle between guerrillas and repressive forces. The last burial of the day is captain Illánez, a Republican Guard and the head of interrogations. Emiliano tells him that when the captain tortures him it is horrible, but it does not matter (69-74). He is very conciliatory: "Estamos en un lugar donde el rencor y la venganza no tienen ningún sentido de ejercitarse" (74-75). The captain, machine gunned while eating lunch in a restaurant, continues hating: "En cambio yo sigo odiando a los terrucos y a toda esa lacra social que jode al progreso del país" (75). Emiliano tells him that he hates because he is recently dead and that it takes time to forgive. Ceferina tells him that he is responsible for disappearing her father the previous year, but he does not remember because there have been so many (75).

The second deals with a young girl, Emiliano Florián's daughter, orphaned due to the guerrilla war. Ediberto Tapia, from near Cuzco, and Samuel Florián, a doctor from Lima and Emiliano's brother, are participating in a religious pilgrimage. After three years searching for his niece, the doctor finds her in the house of a farmer, Ediberto Tapia. The two men swear before God that they will be like brothers and will care for Emiliano's daughter (67-71).

Both story lines represent a microcosm of the guerrilla war and forgiveness and unification that overcome its hatred and brutality. The three dead people represent the three components of the guerrilla war: the guerrillas, the repressive forces, and innocent victims of the two. The captain represents the hatred of both parties of the guerrilla war and Emiliano forgiveness after the passage of time. Instead of being abandoned, two men will care for Emiliano's orphan daughter. Overcoming previous antagonisms between the coast and the sierra, the two swear brotherhood before God.

CHAPTER 6
CONCLUSIONS

A consequence of the conquest, the preoccupation about the role of the Indian in Peru leads to the creation of various forms of indigenismos. Each form is, by definition, exterior to the indigenous world. Mestizos and whites create different conceptions about the Indian, and, based on that particular image, posit different theories for the advancement of the Indians. At the same time, indigenistas also promote their own political agendas. Indigenista narrative has been an integral part of the indigenista debate since the publication of Narciso Aréstegui's El Padre Horán in 1848.

The criticism of indigenista narrative's lack of an interior vision of the indigenous world is based on a faulty premise. Indigenismo, both in its political and literary manifestations, is an exterior perspective. In addition, judging works on the basis of the highly subjective criteria of which works are more authentic in their description of the indigenous world leads to circular arguments, reflecting constantly changing conceptions of the Indian. Understanding indigenista narrative as part of the

(exterior) debate about the Indian leads to a more productive means of analysis.

Criticisms of the formal structures of indigenista narrative are intimately tied to the struggle for a dominant position within the cultural field between the boom and regionalism. Arguments proposed by those associated with the boom, such as it being a new narrative or a qualitative leap are premised on the inferiority of the previous dominant form of literature, which is regionalism and indigenismo. Based on narrative theories conceived in Europe and North America, those associated with the boom trumpet the ahistorical triumph of modernity in Latin American literature. The principal weakness in the argument is that indigenista narrative does not conform to their definition of what literature is and, ipso facto, is inferior. They do not consider the referent's role in influencing the production of indigenista narrative. Adapting western formal structures to the referent is a strength rather than a weakness and part of its richness.

With roots in the chronicles of the conquest, indigenista narrative has been a constant factor in Peruvian literature since 1848 and is much more than a simple literary school. It reflects and influences the debates about the Indian. It also is an important source for gaining a deeper understanding of conceptions of the Indian in various periods in Peru's history.

Manuel Scorza's La tumba del relámpago and Hildebrando Pérez Huarancca's Los ilegítimos can be interpreted as two views on the revolutionary potential of the campesino. Scorza's novel is an analysis of the changing conditions that can lead to a successful revolutionary movement. He bases his premise on the idea that the proletarianization of campesinos has led to their gaining a revolutionary consciousness. If leftist political parties and organizations adapt revolutionary theories to the specific needs and desires of the campesinos, he believes that there is more probability of a successful revolutionary movement. While Pérez Huarancca's short stories are not an explicit call for revolution, the description of the lives of the campesinos and their willingness to resist the system and to overthrow it are, in part, a prelude to the rise of Sendero Luminoso's armed struggle. Since Pérez Huarancca was a principal ideologue of Sendero Luminoso, his fictional representation could, to a certain extent, reflect Sendero Luminoso's conception of the revolutionary potential of the campesino.

The narrative works studied that have been published since 1986 reflect the diversity of opinions about the contemporary indigenous peoples. The texts describe the decline of the agricultural economy and the effects of the guerrilla war. The primary exploiters of the Indian are now the government and society as a whole instead of abusive

landowners in the center of the system of gamonalismo found in orthodox indigenista narrative. The primary victims of the violence associated with the guerrilla war are campesinos.

While landowners are not prominent in the texts, when they appear they exercise enormous power over the lives of the campesinos. They control local government officials, influence the police to arrest or massacre their enemies, and are allies with many priests. Many landowners view the campesino as inferior and even as property. They rape campesinas and impregnate their servants with near impunity. They also thwart agrarian reforms to a great extent, but, ironically, Sendero Luminoso partially ends their hegemony.

With the notable exception of Garnett's novel, priests and religious figures do not appear frequently. Allies of landowners and the government, they help maintain the status quo and sexually exploit women. Most notable, however, is the nearly complete absence of priests and religious figures, good or bad.

Most texts describe governments as unresponsive to the needs of the campesino, corrupt, and beholden to those with money and power. Agrarian reforms and programs designed to help the campesino are inadequate. Many programs are for the express benefit of landowners and the rich, while the government exploits cheap campesino labor. Although it can be a catalyst for change, it usually works to maintain the

status quo and its power. When normal avenues of preserving its power fail, the government calls in the police or military to repress campesinos who threaten their power. Government officials also become primary victims of guerrilla popular trials.

There are three types of teachers. The teacher that supports the established order and abuses campesinos appears infrequently. Teachers associated with the SUTEP (teachers' union) are the most common. They work to educate and organize communities. Usually supported by the communities, their actions often result in the government accusing them and the communities of being guerrillas or sympathizers. At times the repressive forces murder teachers and those in the community seen as threats. A third type is the teacher that opts for joining the guerrillas.

Campesinos are both victims and active actors on their own behalf. While they commit some abuses against fellow campesinos, such as sexual violence and human sacrifices, the vast majority of the texts describe them as victims. A partial list of their exploiters includes landowners, religious figures, judicial officials, governments, teachers, other campesinos, the repressive forces and the guerrillas. The problem of land continues, but it is not the overwhelming theme. The principal problems that they face are an exploitative system and the violence of the guerrilla war. Many campesinos actively resist their

exploiters through the vehicle of the community. Resistance is normally on an individual or communal level, but a few choose to join the guerrillas.

Most of the description of the police, the military, and the guerrillas is about their destruction. The killing affects every segment of society. The repressive forces tend to torture and rape more than the guerrillas. The repressive forces are often depicted as doing the dirty work for society in defeating the guerrillas. Implicit in this arms-length support is that any means are appropriate if the results are effective. Many texts describe the guerrillas as brutal extremists, whose leader is surrounded by myths. Various texts describe the guerrillas in terms of being almost super humans who will very difficult to defeat. The violence continues on all sides in an upward spiral as characters seek revenge for previous attacks.

Indigenista narrative continues to be an important part of Peruvian literature and to address consequential issues in contemporary Peru. Using innovative narrative techniques and tackling current problems, indigenista writers continue in indigenismo's tradition of constantly adapting to the times. The future of indigenista narrative seems bright considering the talented young writers who choose to continue the tradition.

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I certify that I have read this study and that in my opinion it conforms to acceptable standards of scholarly presentation and is fully adequate, in scope and quality, as a dissertation for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy.

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